# CANTERBURY

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Ancient Cities

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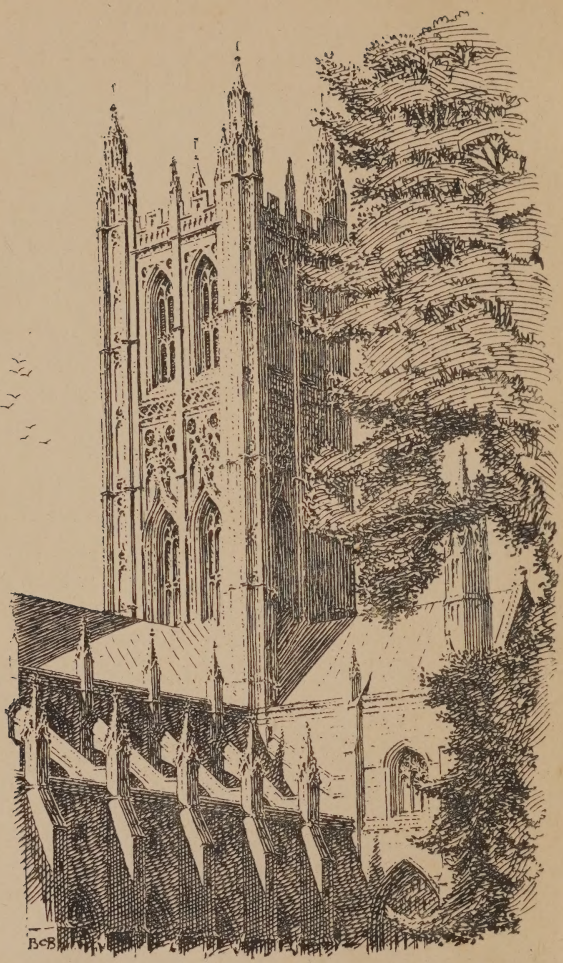
# CANTERBURY

## A HISTORICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF THE CITY



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# CANTERBURY

## A HISTORICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF THE CITY

WRITTEN BY
J. CHARLES COX
LL.D., F.S.A.
ILLUSTRATED BY
B. C. BOULTER

LONDON
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*First Published in 1905*

IN PIAM MEMORIAM VIRI REVERENDISSIMI,

EDVARDI WHITE BENSON,

QUI CUM ECCLESIÆ ANGLICANÆ ACCURATE
ET SAPIENTER PRAEFUIT, TUM INTER
CURAS MAXIMAS HUIC OPUSCULO
BENIGNISSIME FAVERE
VALUIT

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## PLANS

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'And specilly from every shire's end
Of Engle-land to Canterbury they wend.'

# PREFACE

In 1884, the year after his translation from Truro to Canterbury, I was asked by Dr. Edward White Benson to write a short history of the City of Canterbury, as the Archbishop was not able to lay his hands on any one book that gave the information that many desired to have. Such a request I regarded almost as a command, more especially as Dr. Benson had rendered me much kindly service at the time when he was Chancellor of Lincoln, and when I had occasion to frequently consult the chapter muniments of that minster. The project, however, through stress of other work, got no further than a scheme of procedure, which was submitted to the Archbishop and met with his approval, and the collection of some material.

Since that time the local guide-books have materially improved, and the idea of this small book had been abandoned, until—nearly twenty years after—my friend Professor Windle, in arranging a series of books on old English towns for Messrs. Methuen, asked me to undertake the volume on Canterbury.

The scheme originally adopted has in the main

been followed, and in one point the suggestion of Dr. Benson has been specially adopted, namely the making an effort to destroy the comparatively modern vulgarism of 'Bell Harry Tower,' as applied to the masterly central tower of the great minster, and to revive the beautiful original name of 'The Angel Steeple.'

To Mr. B. C. Boulter this little book owes much, and it will probably win more favour from the charm and faithfulness of his illustrations than from the letterpress. All the drawings are by Mr. Boulter save the two on pp. 169, 170; for leave to reproduce these I have to thank my friend Mr. J. C. Wall.

It was suggested that a short book of this kind did not require to be cumbered with footnotes and references; but I have added to this preface a list of the best books on Canterbury.

These pages are not intended to be a guide-book, in the ordinary acceptation of the term; but the Itinerary at the end, wherein suggestions are made for following definite routes, with references to the pages containing information on the different objects of interest passed on the way, will probably be found useful.

If not too presumptuous—writing as an outsider, but as one who has known and loved Canterbury for forty years,—I should like to suggest to the Corporation and to all who have authority or influence in the City, to see to three matters in the interests of archæology and history, namely—the condition of (a) the Castle, (b) the Priests' Hospital, and (c) the

Greyfriars. As to the last of these, the singularly interesting thirteenth-century building standing on arches over a branch of the river is in a perilous plight and kept in a foul state, whilst it was only by stealth that my friend Mr. Boulter could find the opportunity of making a hasty sketch.

J. C. C.

St. Albans, Sydenham
*July* 1905

## THE BEST BOOKS ON CANTERBURY


Somner's *Antiquities of Canterbury*, 1640.
Batteby's enlarged edition of Somner, 1703.
Dart's *History of Cathedral Church of Canterbury*, 1726.
Gosling's *Walk about Canterbury*, 1774.
Nichol's *History of the three Archiepiscopal Hospitals*, 1785.
Hasted's *History of the City of Canterbury*, 1799.
Cole's *Handbook for the City of Canterbury*, 1843.
British Archæological Association, Canterbury Meeting, 1845.
Willis's *Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral*, 1843.
Stanley's *Historical Memorials of Canterbury*, 1855.
Brent's *Canterbury in the Olden Time*, 1860.
Walcott's *Memorials of Canterbury*, 1868.
Willis's *Architectural History of the Conventual Buildings of Christ Church*, 1869.
Robertson's *Crypt of Canterbury Cathedral*, 1880.
Historical Manuscripts Commission—
Dean and Chapter Muniments, Fifth Report (426-462), 1876.
" " Eighth Report (315-355), 1881.
" " Ninth Report (72-129), 1883.
Corporation Muniments, Ninth Report (129-177), 1883.
S. G.'s *Chronological History of Canterbury*, 1883.
Sheppard's *Letter Books of Christ Church Monastery* (3 vols.), 1887-1889.
Maclear's *St. Augustine's Canterbury*, 1888.
Routledge's *Church of St. Martin, Canterbury*, 1898.
Legg and Hope's *Inventories of Christ Church, Canterbury*, 1902.
Searle's *Chronicle of John Stone*, 1902.
Thompson's *Customary of St. Augustine's, Canterbury*, 1902.

# CHAPTER I

## THE EARLY HISTORY OF CANTERBURY

Former Roman Worth-gate

IT is quite possible that the earlier settlers at Canterbury, after the great upheaval that caused the disappearance of palæolithic man, were lake-dwellers, erecting their huts on piles over the shallow waters of the tidal estuary that then flowed up the valley for some distance above where now stands the mother-town of England's Christianity. The contour of the land on which the city stands, and of the higher ground by which it is surrounded, shows clearly that the site has gradually risen from a once wide river-bed, shallower here from the greater flatness of the valley, and therefore suitable for a ford. Here, on the fringe of the dense woods with which Kent then abounded, would be a considerable extent of open

Canterbury

swampy land and shallow water, eminently suitable for pile-dwellings that provided their occupants with some degree of security, and brought the fishing on which they chiefly depended to their very doors. Trackways would lead from this lake settlement into the great forests around, and would gradually deepen and widen as population increased until they might fairly be termed roads. The chief British road that led down to this ford can 'still be traced,' says Mr. Faussett, 'from the corresponding ford of the lesser Stour at Patricksbourne, forming for a long way the parish boundary between Bekesbourne and Patricksbourne, but now mostly used as an occupation way only. That this old line of road, clearly of immense age from its hollowness on hillsides, is of British origin, is evident enough from its course so near and parallel to a Roman road upon either side of it, after the date of which two a third would never have been constructed.'

The great Dane-John mound, so much altered in shape in modern days, stands within the walls of the present city. This, with other adjacent mounds outside the walls, mostly destroyed to make way for the station and buildings of the London Chatham and Dover Railway Company, dates back to what are vaguely termed 'British' times. Some have contended that the vast heap of the Dane-John was a Saxon burh, or moated mound; and the arguments for that idea were well stated by the great exponent of the Saxon burh theory in general, Mr. G. T. Clark, in a communication to Canon Robertson, published in 1883

in the second volume of *Archæologia Cantiana.* Nevertheless, the weight of authority and of genuine evidence is strongly in favour of the prehistoric date of the great mounds. The three mounds, one inside and two outside the city, seem clearly to have been older than the wall and earth rampart which have separated them. This bank or rampart, if not an actual part of the defence of the Roman city, is on the site of it, and it therefore follows that the mounds are of British or Celtic origin. Moreover, when the railway works were in operation, a bronze-socketed celt was found in the removed mound; it is figured in Evans' *Bronze Implements.* These great earthworks probably formed part of a defensive scheme to protect the ford over the Stour in the later Celtic period.

Various references were made by Roman historians and geographers to their fortresses or fortified havens in Kent; but they make hardly any allusion to Canterbury or Durovernum. The settlement here seems to have been regarded as one of no particular moment from a military point of view, at all events, during the earlier portion of their four centuries of occupation. Nevertheless, it must have had some repute soon after their conquest of this corner of England, and probably offered at least barrack accommodation for troops on the march; for it was at Durovernum, the site subsequently occupied by the city of Canterbury, that the roads from the three Kentish coast-fortresses of Reculver, Richborough, and Lymne united to cross the Stour, and thence proceeded northwards through Britain in the one great

military highway known in later days as Watling Street.

Two facts plainly attest the eventual importance and considerable population of Durovernum under the long-continued Roman occupation—namely, the five burial-grounds that have been found in the immediate vicinity of the city, and the great abundance of Roman tiles or bricks that have been re-used on all sides throughout the mediæval buildings of Canterbury.

Save for these bricks and some blocks of oolite, there are practically no traces of Roman work above ground. Seeing that the site has been continuously occupied, save for a brief period of desolation, ever since our conquerors abandoned Britain, it is only natural to expect that the level of the city would have been considerably raised by the accumulation of successive strata of débris during so many centuries. It is not, therefore, surprising to find that in the centre of the city the traces of Roman antiquities and remains are not to be found nearer than seven or eight feet to the present surface. At this depth, wherever excavations have been made amid the dark refuse soil, broken pottery, bone-pins, and other implements, with an occasional coin are to be found, varied by the occurrence of more or less substantial foundations or traces of paving.

The most considerable discoveries of this character were made in 1868, during the carrying out of an extensive system of deep draining. Fortunately the superintendence of this scheme was in the hands of

Mr. James Pilbrow, F.S.A., an antiquary of no mean repute, who set forth in detail the results of his discoveries (*Archæol.* vol. xliii). Over two hundred coins were received by Mr. Pilbrow, and probably at least an equal amount filtered through the hands of the workpeople to collectors and dealers. The three chief localities where there was considerable evidence of Roman walls or buildings were in St. Margaret Street, Sun Street, and the High Street. St. Margaret Street proved rich in foundations, most of which were undoubtedly of Roman origin; in some places they were so firmly set and solid 'that men were at work night and day for two weeks, with sledges, wedges, and chisels, breaking them up'; at the junction with Watling Street a heavy buttress had to be cut through; and several pieces of tesselated pavement were discovered. In Sun Street considerable remains of Roman walls were laid bare; here, and in St. Margaret Street, the walls were found to be banded with regular courses of brick or tile. In High Street, beneath six houses numbered 30 to 35, including the Fleur-de-lis Hotel, and beneath the roadway in front of them, lie the massive foundations of an important building which Mr. Pilbrow concluded to have formed part of the citadel or *arx* of Durovernum. It was here that a handsome Roman tesselated pavement of considerable extent was discovered in 1758, when making excavations to form a cellar for the house now numbered 31. It is specially interesting to think that a spot which is one of the busiest in modern

Canterbury

Canterbury, as it must also have been in the palmiest time of its mediæval history, was the centre of civic and military life during the Roman occupation. In addition to these three chief sites, Mr. Pilbrow also found several foundations in Castle Street; many Roman vessels, ornaments, and implements in Palace Street, and a considerable piece of tesselated pavement opposite St. Alphege's Church; many pottery fragments and coins in Burgate Street; and parts of the city wall in Guildhall Street, like the larger fragments in Sun Street.

On a populous site any general scheme of excavation for historical purposes is, of course, an impossibility, and the little additional information that has been gleaned as to underground Durovernum since 1869 has come about accidentally, through the occasional diggings necessitated by foundations for new buildings or the repair of some obstructed drain. There has been some difference of opinion among antiquaries most conversant with the local excavations, such as Messrs. Pilbrow, Faussett, and Brent, as to the extent or boundaries of the Roman town. On Mr. Pilbrow's plan, the conjectural line of the western boundary is marked at a distance of about fifty feet eastward of the present eastern bank of the Stour, whose tidal current, at that time, flowed far beyond the existing banks. Mr. Pilbrow claimed to have discovered its exact line in one place—namely, the smooth face of a wall in front of All Saints' Church; this solid piece of wall ran from east to west, in the same direction as the road, and was

traced for a distance of twelve feet. The northern wall seems to have been undoubtedly found in Sun Street. Mr. Faussett considered that the existing city walls on the east and the south coincided with the old Roman boundaries. Mr. Faussett's conjectures as to the extent of the Roman town give a larger area than those of Mr. Pilbrow; but it is quite possible that both of these patient investigators were fairly right, the lines of the former indicating a later development of Romano-British life on this site. We are all of us so apt to forget that the changes that went on in England during the four centuries of the Roman occupation were most probably, in proportion to the population, quite as great as between 1500 and 1900. It is just as foolish to imagine that a settlement, at the junction of three of the most important coast-roads of Britain, stood still for four hundred years when the Romans were amongst us, as it would be to expect the Canterbury of Edward VI. to be of the same size and planning as the Canterbury of Edward VII.

One thing seems quite clear, namely, that throughout the Roman days the cathedral precincts were entirely outside any walls or boundaries.

It is somewhat disappointing to find that there can be no reliable drawing out of a Roman plan in the case of Canterbury, as can so often be done, with a fair amount of accuracy, in the various 'chesters' or *castra* of other important English towns. But it should be remembered that no well-defined Roman rectangle probably ever existed on

this site. 'The old capital of Kent was no mere Roman camp laid out by a Frontinus or an Ostorius,' but had its origin in days long anterior to the first landing of our civilised conquerors. In fact, the walls of mediæval Canterbury seem to have followed pretty closely the line of its prehistoric ramparts.

A considerable wealth of pottery and vases, gold and bronze and enamelled ornaments, glass vessels, and bone, bronze, and iron implements of this period, have been discovered in Canterbury and its outskirts. The best of them have been well described and illustrated by Mr. Brent, and a valuable selection of them is to be found in the Royal Museum.

There is no reason to doubt that the occupants of Durovernum enjoyed a fairly peaceful time for the last two centuries or more of Roman rule; but with the withdrawal of the Romans in the first half of the fifth century, a time of confusion and barbarism set in for more than a century and a half, which was not thoroughly dissipated until the occurrence of another form of Roman invasion in the person of St. Augustine and his band of peaceful followers. No sooner had news reached the Continent of the final abandonment of the island-province so long ruled by the world's conquerors, than hordes of rude pagans, Jutes and Saxons, followed ere long by pirate bands of Danes and Norsemen, overran the land. The *Saxon Chronicle* graphically describes the flight of the Britons from Kent before the continuous stream of pitiless invaders, as that of 'men who fly from fire.' Durovernum, at the junction of the three roads from the

three ports of the county, Richborough, Reculver, and Lymne, would be the very place where these rough invaders would naturally converge. It would doubtless be at once abandoned by those who had found some degree of peace and contentment under Roman rule, and it would probably become the arena of many a bloody strife between the rival companies of lawless settlers.

There are good reasons for supposing that the old town of Durovernum was for a long time unoccupied by the Saxons, and was indeed left practically desolate for upwards of a century of the period when they remained heathens. There are no more certain proofs of pagan Saxon population than their cemeteries, and these are specially numerous in East Kent, and in the wilder districts of the county, such as Barham, Faversham, Steventon, and Stowting; but at Canterbury nothing of the kind has come to light, notwithstanding the continuous building, planting, road-making, draining, brickmaking, and digging for gravel, sand, or chalk, that have been carried out all round the city. No Anglo-Saxon burials—not even a single grave—have been found nearer than two or three miles from the city, as at Chartham Downs on the south-west, and Patricksbourne on the south-east. From this absence of pagan Saxon interments, Mr. Faussett ingeniously argued that Canterbury became again inhabited 'no very long time before Christianity had introduced its simpler style of burial.' 'The remains of the Roman city,' he adds, 'entirely corroborate this view, the lower

Canterbury

parts of the houses being found in a well-preserved condition, and beautiful pavements all unworn, occasionally coming to light, seeming to show a period of almost Pompeian burial, neglect, and overgrowth, till the restorers of the city noticed nothing of the valuable materials below.'

All this, too, is confirmed by the change of name. Such Roman settlements as Reculver, Richborough, Lymne, and Dover retained their title, and still bear much the same names as they had during the Roman occupation. But it was quite different with that central, well-known junction of Durovernum; the name could not have been abandoned from mere caprice; it is fair to assume that it had dropped out of recollection from long disuse. The new name, also, just accords with this theory, for it was Canterbury or *Cantwarabyrig*, the city of the men of Kent. It implies, to again cite Mr. Faussett, 'a date when the Pictish conquerors had come to know their exact position in England, viz. that the whole of Kent was theirs, and that nothing more was going to be theirs; they must definitely have acquired the name among themselves and their neighbours of the men of Kent. It implies a deliberate choice of a capital by such a settled people, and implies also its purpose as a capital from its own first foundation, and not a gradual growth from a smaller beginning, in which case it would have already acquired a smaller name; and Saxons did not change names for a fancy, or give them for anything but a practical use. All this points to

the restoration of Canterbury at no very early date in the settlement of the Saxon kingdom of Kent.'



Certain generally trusted historians, and the average run of history primers, still speak of Canterbury as the 'capital of Hengist.' But this is an undoubted error. Wherever Hengist and his three successors in the rule over Kent had their headquarters—Richborough or Faversham are the most likely conjecture—it certainly was not at Canterbury. It was not until about the beginning of the rule of Ethelbert (560), the first Christian king of Kent, that Canterbury became a place of first importance; it was his royal capital. The city was extended northward beyond the Roman limit to include Ethelbert's palace, which he afterwards surrendered to St. Augustine, the monastery of Christ Church eventually rising on its site. One of the most interesting old names in the city is that of Queeningate, to the east of the cathedral, first mentioned in a charter of 762. The tradition that derives the gate and name from Queen Bertha using it to pass to her devotions in the Christian chapel outside the walls, seems at first sight 'almost too pretty and pat for belief'; but as this tradition, for reasons that need not here be cited, carried conviction to such careful antiquaries as Messrs. Faussett and Brent, it may with safety be accepted as true by the most cautious of archæological visitors. The alteration of this period made a new laying-out of streets necessary, and the Burgate, running parallel with the High Street, to the south of the palace, then

became the principal road into Canterbury, entering at what was then its most important part through the 'Burgate' or chief gate of the borough.

From pre-Conquest charters we gather that there were markets outside most of the gates or entrances. One was called Staple Gate, and outside Worth Gate was the wine-market, or 'Winchepe,' the name of which lasts to the present time.

The changes in the Saxon city that can be traced from street and other names, which are found in the charters or which still endure, are of much interest, and have been well worked out by Mr. Faussett.

WALLOON FLAGON, IN THE CRYPT

## CHAPTER II

### SAXON CHRISTIANITY

CHRISTIANITY speedily changed the whole face of Ethelbert's city. The palace that he ceded to St. Augustine would be adapted to its new purpose; and this was followed by the bestowal on the monks of a large plot of land outside Queeningate for the building of a monastery, which was at first dedicated to Sts. Peter and Paul, and afterwards to St. Augustine. An extension of this latter donation, as detailed in two charters (which are forgeries, but as they are pre-Conquest forgeries are good for topographical purposes), is of interest as naming a boundary which can still be identified. 'Druting Streete' is given as the north-western boundary

Canterbury

of the abbey, a name which gradually changed itself into the modern Old Ruttington Lane. In the course of a century or two a great number of churches were erected, witnesses both to the extent and faith of the inhabitants; they clustered most thickly at the royal and monastic end of the town. On the southern half of the site of the old Roman town, as bisected by Watling Street, there were three churches—St. Mildred, St. Mary de Castro, and St. John the Poor, the last two long ago destroyed and their very sites doubtful. On the Watling Street itself there stood the church of St. Edmund, of which the site is unknown, and which could not from its dedication have been earlier than the ninth or tenth century. But the northern half of the city had no fewer than eight churches—St. Mary Bredin, St. Margaret, St. George, St. Andrew, St. Mary Andrewsgate or Breadman, St. Michael Burgate, St. Mary Magdalene, and the church of the Four Martyrs. Further north, in the newer Saxon part of the town, stood the great monastery of Christ Church, St. Mary Queeningate, and at a much later date St. Alphege. Of those churches outside the town, there stood on the westward road St. Peter, All Saints, and the more remote St. Dunstan. On the 'Via de Burgate' to the east, which was a continuation outside the walls of Burgate, stood St. Paul, St. Pancras (on the site of an old Roman building), St. Martin, and the great monastery of St. Augustine. But there was no external church on the south side of the city.

The old church of the Four Crowned Martyrs is mentioned by Bede when recording the incident of the great fire in the city in the year 619. The city was in imminent danger of complete destruction, when Archbishop Mellitus, a great sufferer from the gout, caused himself to be carried to the raging flames which had just then laid hold of the church of the Four Martyrs. 'The sick man averted the danger by prayer, which a number of strong men had not been able to perform by much labour. Immediately the wind which, blowing from the south, had spread the conflagration throughout the city, turning to the north, prevented the destruction of those places that had lain in its way, and then ceasing entirely, the flames were immediately extinguished.' This church is supposed to have disappeared as the cathedral churchyard advanced towards the south. St. Mary Queeningate used to stand just against the wall by this gate, where the bowling-green of the Dean and Chapter now is. St. Mary Breadman, which was afterwards about the centre of the city, owing to a later extension of the walls eastward, used to be so close to the old eastern gate that it was called St. Mary Andrewsgate.

The actual remains of pre-Conquest Christianity will shortly be discussed. Meanwhile it will be well to go back to the condition of Canterbury shortly before the landing of St. Augustine. Of Roman and earlier buildings there are certainly no remains above the surface. Some have thought that there are certain traces of a Romano-British or Celtic church to be

found in the fabrics of the churches of St. Martin, St. Pancras, and on the site of the present cathedral. But, first of all, what has history to tell us of any Canterbury Christianity prior to the arrival of the Italian missionary? The latest study of dates and facts—more particularly the careful surveys of the Bishop of Bristol—enable us to say with perfect confidence that in the year 594, two years before Augustine's arrival, and in all probability far earlier, there was a Christian queen in pagan Kent. Ethelbert, King of Kent, was at this time the most powerful of the petty kings of England. He began his reign in 561, and established his supremacy over the Saxons of Middlesex and Essex, as well as over the English of East Anglia as far as the Wash. Ethelbert married a foreign wife, Bertha, daughter of Charibert, King of the Franks in Gaul. She was a Christian lady, and it was expressly stipulated that she should enjoy the free exercise of her religion. The first Christian queen of England was accompanied by a chaplain, Bishop Liudhard, who probably arrived in Canterbury about the year 575. Of Liudhard, the Christian bishop, little is known for certain save that he came from Gaul. His name, however, in its varied spelling is clearly Teutonic, and it is possible that a Teutonic origin would make him more acceptable as a visitor to our shores. It has been conjectured by some that Liudhard was Bishop of Soissons, and by others Bishop of Senlis, both of them places in Belgic Gaul directly opposite the south-eastern parts of Britain. The strong proba-

bility, however, is that Liudhard had no diocese, but was one of those itinerant bishops of Gaul, of whom a synod held at Soissons, a century and a half after this time, declared that they must not exercise episcopal functions without leave of the diocesan. It is scarcely possible to imagine that Liudhard and his Christian mistress did not endeavour to put forth some missionary effort on behalf of their faith, or to think that the Christians of Canterbury were confined solely to a few members of the queen's household; but at all events, there was no outward proof of successful evangelising from Canterbury, save a general desire on the part of the English people to learn more of Christianity, resulting in several vain applications being made to the neighbouring priests of Gaul. This much is clear from two of Pope Gregory's letters. That Liudhard was a good and much respected man there can be no shadow of doubt. It is quite conceivable that Augustine and his immediate successors, being only human, might have been jealous of their forerunner, the bishop from Gaul; but, on the contrary, they showed every possible honour to his memory; for the Canterbury monks of the great church of St. Augustine placed the relics of Bertha's bishop in a golden chest, inscribed *Scs. Letard*, in the place of greatest honour above the high altar, and used to carry his relics round the city at Rogation-tide.

Saxon Christianity

Queen Bertha and her chaplain made use of a little church on the east side of the city dedicated to St. Martin, 'erected,' as Bede tells us, 'when the

Canterbury

Romans were still inhabiting Britain.' As old age and infirmities beset Liudhard, the need for assistance became more urgent, and in 597 Augustine landed in Kent, at the head of the mission band despatched from Rome by Gregory. Tradition assigns the death of Liudhard to a month or two after the arrival of the Italian band; and this is probably correct, for Liudhard was either dead or incapable of carrying on his work when the Italians entered the city; otherwise Bede would hardly have mentioned that Augustine and his companions at once began to celebrate, preach, and baptize in Liudhard's own church of St. Martin, and make no mention whatever of the Gaulish bishop. With Augustine, who was head and shoulders taller than the rest, came Laurence, a future Archbishop of Canterbury, Peter, who became the first abbot of St. Augustine's, and about forty others. The story of their landing and of their subsequent entry into Canterbury, chanting litanies, and with a lofty silver cross and a painting of the Saviour, has been far too often told—and never more picturesquely than by Dean Stanley—to need any attempt at resetting. Ere long the mission met with a signal success. On the Feast of Pentecost, June 2, 597, King Ethelbert was baptized, almost undoubtedly within the church of St. Martin. The difficulty of baptism by immersion in this small building has been raised; but the fact of baptism by affusion being the usual custom, and not the exception, in the first centuries of Christianity, has recently been settled beyond possible

contradiction (Rogers, *Baptism and Christian Archæology*, 1903). Ethelbert's conversion resulted in full permission being given to the missionaries to preach where they listed, and to build churches or restore any that remained of the Christian Church that had been driven out when the Romans left the country.

The little church of St. Martin, whatever be its precise age, is universally acclaimed by all thoughtful men to be the most interesting church in all England both in fabric and associations. It has a rectangular nave, thirty-eight feet long by twenty-five feet wide, chancel forty feet by fourteen feet, a fourteenth-century tower, and a modern organ-chamber and vestry. There has been, and still is, very considerable difference of opinion among capable archæologists as to the probable date or dates of the walls of St. Martin's. The subject was debated at length before the Society of Antiquaries in the spring of 1896, and was further pursued when the Royal Archæological Institute met at Canterbury in July of the same year. Almost all are agreed that much of the present building is the same that was standing here when Augustine arrived, and the same wherein Queen Bertha attended the ministrations of the chaplain—Bishop Liudhard; this, in itself, gives to the fabric a continuous Christian use of over thirteen centuries, and therefore makes it the oldest used church in England. But the point at issue is, whether the present building, in many of its features, represents a church built here expressly for Bertha and Liudhard in the last quarter of the sixth century?

or whether it is of distinct Roman date, either in nave or chancel or even in both, and therefore the only used Celtic church in England? Canon Routledge, whose last published book on this church, which he long made his peculiar study, issued in 1898, went so far as to contend that 'it is the oldest existing church in Europe.' Mr. Micklethwaite is the chief champion of the view that there is here only Saxon building with Roman materials, and he is generally followed by most antiquaries; but then, as Canon Routledge remarks, it should be remembered that 'though his opinion is deservedly weighty, he has not been able to be present at any of the excavations.' At all events, every one interested in St. Martin's—and what man of intelligence is not?—would do well to possess himself of Canon Routledge's admirable illustrated account of its history and fabric.

Augustine, who was consecrated by the Archbishop of Arles on Sunday, November 17, 597, returned to England in 598, and settled his see at Canterbury in 602. After he had established 'the episcopal seat in the royal city,' as Bede declares, 'he recovered therein by the king's assistance a church which he had learned was built in that same place by the ancient labour of Roman believers, and he hallowed it in the name of the Holy Saviour, and established in the same place a habitation of himself and his successors. Moreover, he made also a monastery not far from the same city towards the east, in which, by his persuasion, Ethelbert built from the founda-

St. Martin's Church ✠

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tions and enriched with divers gifts the church of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, in which the bodies both of Augustine himself and of all the bishops of Durovernum, as well as of the kings of Kent, could be placed.' The first of these statements refers to the church afterwards known as the cathedral priory of Christ Church, whilst the monastery to the east became known as St. Augustine's Abbey; for here was buried Augustine, in 605, in a temporary grave at its door, the church being neither finished nor hallowed at the time of his death. In 613 the church of this Benedictine monastery was consecrated by Archbishop Laurence, St. Augustine's successor, the body of the saint being translated to his appointed burial-place in the north porch or transept. Here also were buried St. Augustine's five successors; but the porch being then full, Archbishop Theodore (668-690) and his three successors were buried elsewhere in the same church. Archbishop Cuthbert (741-758) and his successors, with one exception, were buried in their cathedral church. King Ethelbert, who died in 616, was also buried within the church of Sts. Peter and Paul, as well as his Queen Bertha and the chaplain—Bishop Liudhard.

Eadbald, the son and successor of Ethelbert, was a man of evil and pagan life; but in 618 he was baptized, and, in token of his conversion, began another church to the east of the monastery, beyond the monks' cemetery, in honour of the Blessed Virgin. These two churches of Sts. Peter and Paul and of

St. Mary appear to have been standing as originally built until 1059, when Abbot Wulfric, desirous of obtaining more room for the rapidly multiplying shrines and relics, pulled down the east end of the abbey church and the west end of the church or chapel of Our Lady, and having purged the cemetery between them began to join the two by new buildings. The work was not, however, finished until the election of Abbot Scotland in 1070, when a crypt was constructed to St. Mary, and over it were placed the shrines of St. Augustine and his fellows. Most of the new and renewed work of the great church was accomplished ere Scotland's death, which took place in 1087; but it was completed by his successor, Abbot Wydo, who in 1091 translated into it St. Augustine's body from the north transept, where it had lain for five centuries.

Saxon Christianity

Still farther east, in a line with this great church, was a third church of at least equal age with those of Sts. Peter and Paul and St. Mary; this was the chapel of St. Pancras, the site of which had long lain desolate. The sites of the eastern part of the great church of Sts. Peter and Paul, embracing Eadbald's St. Mary's, together with the chapel of St. Pancras, stand in a great field adjacent to the restored St. Augustine's College. In 1900 this historic site was purchased by subscription, chiefly through the exertions of Canon Routledge, and placed in trustees' hands, with the purpose of being transferred to the College after the completion of the excavations. These excavations, conducted

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mainly by Canon Routledge and Mr. St. John Hope, have been of supreme interest. The result of the first year's work was described in detail by these gentlemen in *Archæologia Cantiana* for 1902. The chapel of St. Pancras, as at first planned, has been found to consist of an apsidal chancel about twenty-six feet long by twenty-five feet wide, and a nave forty-seven feet seven inches by twenty-six feet seven inches. The most interesting feature shown by the excavations was a colonnade of four Roman columns in the intervening wall between nave and chancel. The two central were nine feet apart and carried an arch, whilst the side openings were eight feet wide, and it is uncertain whether they carried arches or only flat lintels. These columns had undoubtedly been taken from some Roman building, and put together again. The apse had been destroyed at a later date to make way for a square-ended chapel. The building also showed the foundations of three small adjuncts, in the shape of a western porch and two side-chapels or porches. The building was constructed throughout of Roman bricks, and many of them had the original characteristic pink mortar still adhering to them. This chapel is not mentioned by Bede, but its oldest extant mention is in the chronicle of William Thorn, a monk of Canterbury, written towards the close of the fourteenth century. Under the year 598, Thorn says: 'Moreover, there was not far from the city towards the east, about midway between the church of St. Martin and the city walls, a temple or idol-

place, where King Ethelbert, according to the custom of his people, was wont to pray, and with his nobles to sacrifice to demons and not to God; which temple Augustine purged from the defilements and impurities of the heathen, and having broken in pieces the idol that was in it, he changed it into a church and dedicated it in the name of St. Pancras the martyr, and this was the first church hallowed by Augustine. There is still an altar in the south porch of the same church at which the same Augustine was wont to celebrate, where the image of the king formerly stood. While Augustine was celebrating mass on this altar for the first time, the devil, seeing that he was driven forth from the house which he had for so long time dwelled in, strove to utterly overthrow the aforesaid church, the marks of which thing are still visible on the outside of the east wall of the porch aforesaid.'

Whatever degree of exact truth there may be in this entry, made eight centuries after the events described, the excavations at St. Pancras clearly establish that the chapel is one of Saxon construction of a very early type, and therefore in all probability actually built by St. Augustine himself; 'perhaps,' as Mr. Hope says, 'for use during the erection of the larger church of Sts. Peter and Paul, which was still unfinished at his death in 605, though founded in 598; and that the builder re-used Roman materials in its construction, which were very possibly found upon the site.' It may be added, that the foundations of the southern porch or chapel show traces of a later mediæval altar, probably

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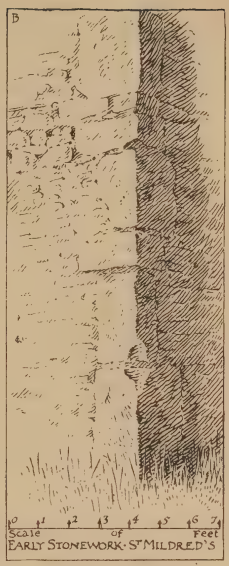
erected on the site of that traditionally used by Augustine.

The excavations begun in 1901, and since continued on the site of the eastern limb of the great church of Sts. Peter and Paul, have brought very much of the crypt to light at a depth of eleven feet below the surface of the field, including the central chapel, and north apsidal and south apsidal chapels, with the ambulatory round the main apse, all of the reconstruction in the eleventh century. To the east of the central chapel of the apse a rectangular chapel was found, measuring roughly thirty-seven feet by twenty-one feet, with the body of Abbot John Dygon (1497-1509) in the centre, by whom this chapel was probably enlarged. A small graceful apsidal chapel to the east of the northern transept, with a recess once decorated with painting, has also been uncovered. Among other relics found during the excavations were a gold noble of Edward III., a leaden seal from a bull of Alexander III. (1159-81), who canonised St. Thomas of Canterbury; many fragments of marble, porphyry, and serpentine mosaic; and some brightly painted and gilded carved stonework, apparently parts of a rich shrine. With the uncovering of the foundations of the infirmary chapel, and of other later conventual buildings within this field, interesting as they are, we have here no immediate concern. Moreover, as the work is not yet finished and awaits due description from the responsible excavators, it is more courteous to await their further report.

St. Mildred's church, in quite another part of the town, near the castle, contains evidence in its fabric, more particularly on the south side and in the quoins of the nave at the west end, of pre-Conquest work. There is a good illustration of one of the nave quoins of this church in Professor Baldwin Brown's recent work (1903) on Saxon architecture. The construction appears, however, to be late in the Saxon style, and probably not earlier than the tenth century.




There is also undoubted Saxon work at the north-west angle of the nave (joining on to the fourteenth-century chapel) of the church of St. Dunstan to the west of the city; though it is unnoticed by Professor Baldwin Brown, and seems hitherto to have escaped observation by any one. Some old masonry on the north side of the chancel is also possibly of pre-Conquest date.

Of the Saxon cathedral church nothing whatever that is visible remains. This building, though the bishop's seat, was considered of little importance as compared with the rival monastery of St. Augustine, until Archbishop Cuthbert contrived in 758 to secure his burial therein by stratagem. It

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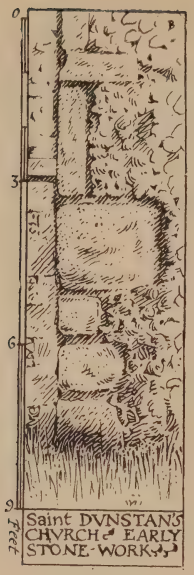



is said, in the account given of it by the monk Eadmer, a contemporary of Archbishop Anselm, to have been erected in imitation of the basilica of St. Peter at Rome. From his account of it—he was living when the Saxon cathedral was destroyed—we can gather that the high altar, with the relics of St. Wilfrid, was at the extreme east end; that there was another altar more to the west, dedicated to our Blessed Lord, where there was daily celebration; that there were two towers, that on the south by the chief entrance to the church containing the altar of St. Gregory; that the monastic buildings were on the north side; that the Lady chapel was at the extreme west end, and that the celebrant at this altar faced east, with the altar between him and the congregation; and that at this end also was the bishop's chair.

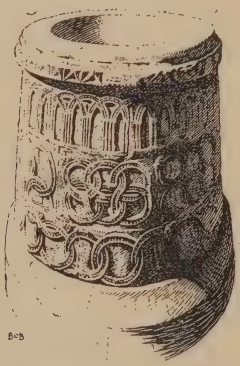
Canterbury, with its cathedral and other churches, as well as the civil parts of the city, suffered on several occasions from Danish assaults; but all previous attacks sank into insignificance before the terrible scenes of 1011. The Danes, whose fury at the massacre of St. Brice's Day was still unabated, gathered in vast numbers for the assault of Canterbury. The revered Archbishop Alphege, by

his energy and exhortations, encouraged the citizens to a valiant resistance of twenty days' duration. Each soldier before relieving guard or mounting the ramparts, was to be seen kneeling in the cathedral to receive the Bread of Life from the aged chief pastor. But treachery brought the struggle to an end; on the twentieth day a traitor, by name Alman, admitted the enemy. The archbishop vainly endeavoured to check the hideous carnage that soon began, but the Danes bound him and made him witness the burning of the cathedral and the butchery of its occupants. Seven thousand are said to have fallen in the sack of the city; but Alphege was made prisoner, and, on his refusing to make any effort to raise the three thousand pieces of silver fixed as his ransom, was dragged about in chains from place to place with the Danish army for seven months. At Greenwich on the vigil of Easter, 1012, the end came. In a drunken riot of the soldiers, the aged archbishop was pelted to death with ox bones. The corpse was removed to London, where it was interred and honoured as the body of a martyr. 'Ten years elapsed,' says the historian of the Archbishops of Canterbury, 'and London saw another sight. The barge of a Danish king was nobly painted and adorned with golden ornaments, to receive on board the corpse of St. Alphege. It was preceded and surrounded by a Danish guard of honour, and followed by the chief members of the Danish court. It was welcomed to their cathedral by the inhabitants of Canterbury, and deposited by the side of the illustrious Dunstan.'

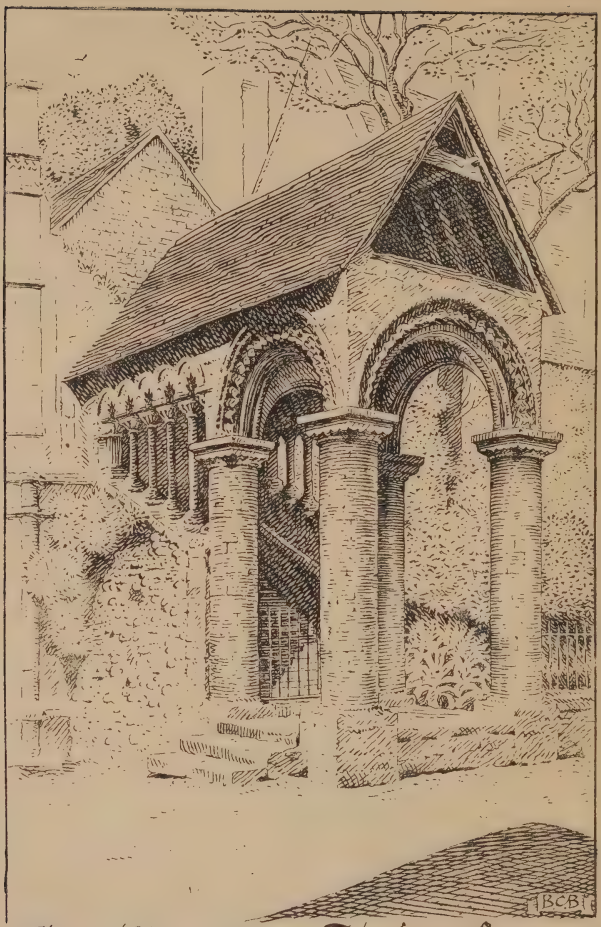
Canterbury

Archbishop Living (1013-20), the successor of St. Alphege, re-roofed the burnt-out cathedral, whilst Archbishop Ethelnoth (1020-1038), surnamed the Good, with the assistance of Canute, completed its renovation and adornment.

As to the civil government of Canterbury before the Conquest, the city was provided with a chief magistrate termed prefect, portreeve, or provost, as in different charters cited by Sumner, of the respective years 780, 956, and 1011. At the first of these dates, one Adhunc was prefect of the city; in the second case Hlothewig was portreeve; whilst in the time of Ethelred the provost (*præpositus regis*) of Canterbury is said to have been taken prisoner by the Danes. Domesday Book states that in the time of Edward the Confessor, Brumannus was prefect of the city. At that time the burgesses numbered two-hundred and ninety-five.



ST MARTIN'S ✠ THE FONT

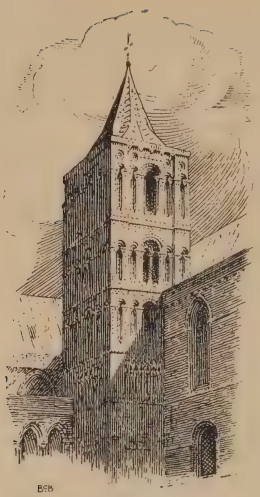



The Norman Staircase

## CHAPTER III

### MEDIÆVAL CANTERBURY

IN 1067 the cathedral again suffered most severely from a fire, that also did much damage to the city. Lanfranc was consecrated archbishop on 29th August 1070; the ceremony took place in a mere shed raised within the quire, for the whole church was roofless. No sooner was Lanfranc well established in his seat, and had procured the restoration of the manors pertaining to the see, which had been alienated during the suspension of his predecessor Stigand, than he set about the rebuilding of the cathedral on a scale of con-



St Anselm's Tower

siderable magnificence. He made no attempt to re-use any part of the old fabric, but built an entirely new church and monastery on the old site. The work occupied seven years. The conventual buildings of the newly founded Benedictine house were made capable of accommodating one hundred and fifty monks, and Henry, the last dean of the old foundation, became the first prior of the new. In 1093 Lanfranc was succeeded by St. Anselm, who three years later appointed Ernulf to be prior. The new prior did not consider Lanfranc's work in the quire sufficiently stately, so within twenty years of its erection it was pulled down, and gradually built up on a very much extended scale. Ernulf died in 1107, before the work was finished, and Conrad (1108-26), his successor, completed its grand proportions. To Ernulf's time belongs the greater part of the crypt, which was built between 1093 and 1107, and is therefore the oldest part of the church.

The completed Norman church was not dedicated as Christ Church until 11th May 1130, when it was hallowed by Archbishop Corbeuil. The ceremony,

which was attended by King Henry, and by David, King of Scotland, and by all the English bishops, was most imposing. Gervase the chronicler exclaims, in his enthusiasm, that no such religious pageant had been seen on earth since the days of the dedication of Solomon's temple. The substantial offerings of the king and the primate, on the occasion, are recorded. The king gave to the priory the church of St. Martin, Dover; and the archbishop gave eight pounds a year out of his manor of Reculver.

Matthew Paris tells of another grievous fire in the city in 1161, but it did not come nigh the cathedral. In 1168 the abbey of St. Augustine suffered grievously from fire.

On the eve of Trinity Sunday 1162, the most remarkable ecclesiastic that the English Church has ever produced, Thomas Becket, was ordained priest in this cathedral church, and on the morrow he was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury in the same place. Instantly, as it were, he stamped his influence on the calendar of the Church after an undying fashion; for his first act was to appoint the day of his consecration, the octave of Whitsuntide, to be a festival throughout the Church of England in honour of the Holy Trinity. From that day to this the festival of Trinity Sunday, which gives also its name to all the following Sundays up to Advent, has been steadfastly observed by the ordinance of St. Thomas of Canterbury. No special day in honour of the Holy Trinity was observed by the Church of Rome until the fourteenth century, when Pope John XXII.

ordered that the same day, selected two centuries before by the Church of England, should be universally observed by the Western Church.

The return of this remarkable man, after his long exile, to Canterbury, on December 2, 1170, was one of the most noteworthy days that either city or cathedral have ever known. He had landed on the previous day at Sandwich, a port belonging to the church of Canterbury, where the people had rushed into the waves in their eagerness to receive the blessing of their spiritual father. There is no finer passage in Dean Hook's many volumes of the *Lives of the Archbishops*, than that wherein he records Becket's entry to the primatial city.

'The next day, as the archbishop was borne to Canterbury, the wave of enthusiasm exceeded in force and swelled his triumph. Each village poured forth its population as he passed. "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord" was still the one long shout of grateful piety and enthusiastic patriotism; for feelings of piety and of patriotism, even if mistaken in their present object, stirred the souls of the united multitude.

'As the archbishop drew nigh the walls of his city, the trumpets announced his long expected approach, and the populace from within streamed out to bid him welcome. The clergy appeared at the gate, and formed their long procession arrayed in their richest copes. The bells of the many churches poured forth a merry peal as the procession passed; and hymns of thanksgiving were heard, proceeding from those who,

too infirm to mingle with the crowd, thus expressed their sympathy with the prevailing sentiment, and suggested those songs of praise—that universal psalmody into which the shouts of the people had subsided, as Becket entered his cathedral. The cathedral was splendid with its silken drapery. The organs sounded. The people pressed forwards to receive their archbishop's blessing. But the archbishop himself was prostrate on the pavement. There he remained, for a while, in silent thanksgiving, amidst the deep breathing and scarcely suppressed sobs of the bystanders. Then he rose, his tall figure everywhere conspicuous above his companions, his handsome face flushed with exultation and joy. Becket was a man eminently fitted for a popular leader, both catching and imparting an enthusiasm, which soon becomes reciprocal between those who raise the cheer and him who bows a response of gratitude.

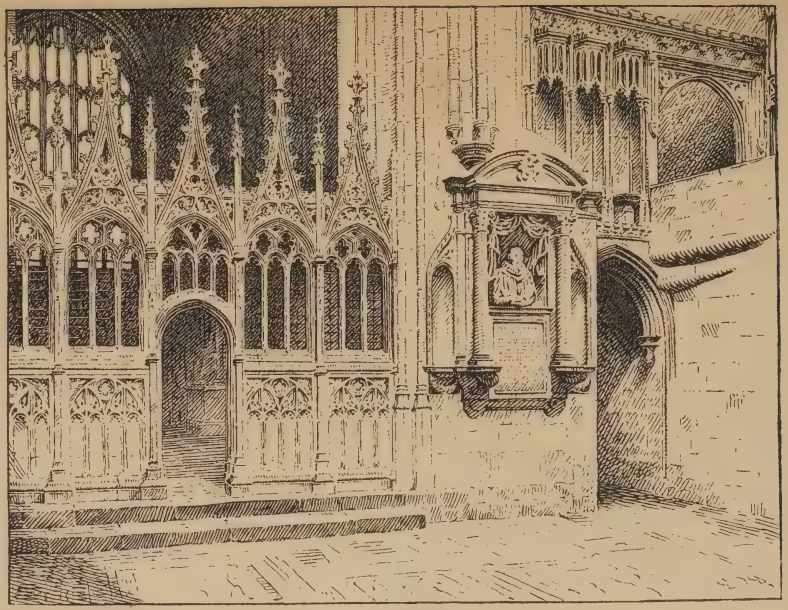
'The archbishop took his seat upon his throne, and received his clergy one by one, giving to each the kiss of peace. There had been misunderstandings between him and the chapter, but in the tears and cries of emotion of that moment all was forgiven and forgotten. The archbishop proceeded to the chapter-house, and there delivered a sermon on the text, "Here we have no continuing city, but we seek one to come."

'The feasting then commenced. Fat bucks had been slaughtered. The Gascon wine flowed freely. The city, we are told, resounded with trumpets.'

Canterbury

Less than four weeks went by, and the same cathedral and city were witnesses of as black a deed of murder as ever took place within consecrated walls; a deed so black that the shame of it still casts a shadow over the site, and men hush their voices and gaze with solemn look as they pass through the chapel of the martyrdom.

At five o'clock on Tuesday evening, December 29, 1170, when evensong had just begun in 'Conrad's glorious quire,' the door from the cloisters into the north transept was hurriedly opened, and the archbishop was almost forced inside by some of his attendants, who desired to save him from the murderous threats of recreant knights who had been rudely taunting him in the hall of his palace. The archbishop refused to allow them to close and bar the door through which he had been hustled. 'Away, you cowards,' said Becket. 'By virtue of your obedience I command you not to shut the door—the church must not be turned into a castle.' Equally stern was he in his refusal to try and gain some place of concealment. The four armed knights rushed in from the cloisters; defeated in their efforts to drag Becket out from the sanctuary of the church, they fell upon the defenceless prelate with their swords. A few vile, cowardly strokes, and the martyr fell on his face before the altar of St. Benedict, murmuring, 'For the name of Jesus and the defence of the Church I am willing to die,' and his brains were deliberately scattered over the pavement by one of the miscreants. There is no one event of the twelfth century, through-



THE MARTYRDOM

out the whole of Christendom, of which even a tithe of the details are so accurately known as those pertaining to the martyrdom of St. Thomas. The extent of the contemporary annals of the archbishop's life, and more particularly of his murder and the earlier miracles at his tomb, can be judged from the fact that the Master of the Rolls Commission thought it worth while to publish no fewer than seven great volumes, between 1875 and 1885, entitled *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket.* From such sources as these Dean Stanley, with peculiar skill and descriptive power, managed to construct a consecutive and speaking narrative of 'The Murder of Becket,' extending over some sixty pages of his *Memorials of Canterbury.* From that narrative we quote a single paragraph, descriptive of the early dawn of the morning of December 30, that had been spent in the quire by the crowd of Benedictine monks in prayers and thanksgivings around the body of their martyred bishop and lord abbot, whom they had already greeted, as they uncovered his hair-shirt, with cries of 'St. Thomas.'

'Thus passed the night; and it is not surprising that in the red glare of an Aurora Borealis which, after the stormy evening, lighted up the midnight sky, the excited populace, like that at Rome after the murder of Rossi, should fancy that they saw the blood of the martyr go up to heaven; or that as the wax lights sank down in the cathedral, and the first streaks of the grey winter morning broke through the stained windows of Conrad's quire, the monks

who sate round the corpse should imagine that the right arm of the dead man was slowly raised in the sign of the cross, as if to bless his faithful followers.'

The popular execration of the murderers, and the popular enthusiasm over the martyr, were almost immediately at fever heat in Canterbury and soon spread throughout England, and found their echo in the most distant parts of Christendom. Becket was laid in a marble tomb in the crypt, and for a year the great church stood desolate in mourning for the crime, the services being conducted without music or song in the chapter-house. In December 1171 the service of reconciliation of the church was performed by the Bishops of Exeter and Chester. In 1173 Becket's regular canonisation was decreed at Rome, and the 29th of December was set apart as the feast day of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

Henry II., after submission and penance, had been absolved in September 1172 for his share in the great tragedy, as the instigator by hot words of those who did the deed. But the king's conscience was uneasy, public opinion considered that his absolution by the Pope had been won too easily, and affairs both at home and abroad were in a perilous plight. At length the king, believing his misfortunes to arise from his share in the crime, and considerably alarmed by a severe gale as he was crossing from France to Southampton, resolved to go in penitence to the now celebrated shrine of the saintly Thomas. On Friday, July 8, 1174, Henry approached Canterbury, stripped off his ordinary

Canterbury

dress at the entrance to the city from the London road, in a chapel of the church of St. Dunstan, and walked through the streets barefoot, only clad in a woollen shirt with a cloak thrown over it as a slight protection from the rain which was pitilessly falling. Through a wondering crowd, the rough sharp stones of the streets stained in places with the blood from his feet, the weak unhappy king reached the cathedral, and made straight for the scene of the martyrdom. Here he knelt, kissing the actual stone on which the archbishop's blood had been shed, the prelates standing round to hear his open confession. Thence he was conducted to the crypt where he knelt and kissed the tomb, and remained kneeling whilst the Bishop of London addressed the assembly, telling them of the king's penitence for his rash words, of his intention to restore the rights and properties of the church, and of his gift of forty marks a year to keep lamps continuously burning before the martyr's tomb. Then the king ratified by his own voice the bishop's words, asked for absolution, and received a kiss of peace from the prior. Kneeling again at the tomb, the king removed the rough cloak from his shoulders, placed his head and shoulders within an opening in the tomb, and in that position received five strokes with a rod from each of the bishops and abbots who were present, and three from each of the eight monks. The severely punished king then resumed his clothes, but was still left in the crypt on the bare ground with bare feet and fasting for the whole night. He rose for the night mattins, and

then went the round of the altars and shrines of the upper church, but came back to the crypt for the rest of the night. The actual physical punishment the king endured was very considerable; he started the next morning for London, but was about a week on the road, and when he arrived took to his bed in a dangerous feverish seizure. From this he was shortly roused by the news of the victory at Richmond over the Scots, when William the Lion was taken prisoner; and finding that it had occurred on the very Saturday when he had left Canterbury, after making his peace with the martyr, Henry leaped from his bed and gave thanks to God and St. Thomas.

This was the last startling event of which the church of Lanfranc was witness. On September 5 of the same year wherein the king made his profound act of penitence, a fire broke out in three cottages near the monastery, the sparks were carried by a strong gale from the south to the roof of the cathedral, and ere long it suddenly burst into flames; the fire caught the stalls and other woodwork of the quire, and notwithstanding the valiant efforts of the townsmen, the whole church was soon reduced to mere blackened ruins. The monks set up an altar in the nave, which had not suffered quite so severely, and for five years they remained disconsolate—'a paradise of pleasures,' as the monk Gervase has it, 'being reduced to a weary wilderness.'

During those five years the monks of Christ Church were diligent in seeking counsel of their

friends, both in England and across the seas, to secure some one who would worthily superintend the restoration of their church—the architect, in modern parlance. At last their choice fell upon a skilled workman of Normandy, William of Sens, 'on account of his lively genius and good reputation.' In September 1174 the selected architect began his great undertaking, and slowly but surely completed five bays of the great quire, with their triforia and clerestory windows; but in 1178 William of Sens met with an unhappy and disabling accident by a fall from the scaffolding, and had to give up his charge and return to France. His incompleted task fell into the hands of another William, an Englishman, who though small in body was acute and honest in many kinds of workmanship. Under his supervision, the quire and eastern portion of the church, with Trinity chapel and Becket's crown, were completed in 1184. The marvellous cunning of English William was specially shown in the skill with which he first contracted and then expanded the line of pillars, in order to preserve the site and construction of the chapel of the Holy Trinity (destroyed with Conrad's quire in the fire of 1174); for it was in this chapel that Becket had first solemnised mass after becoming archbishop. On this account, it was probably determined from the outset to enshrine the martyr's bones in this part of the rebuilt quire.

A few years after the completion of the quire, Richard I., in 1189, paid a state visit to Canterbury.

On this occasion William, King of Scotland, was conducted to the king's presence by the Archbishop-elect of York and the Bishop of Lincoln, and made his homage to Richard. The ubiquitous John, whose conscience ever kept him restless, was constantly at Canterbury, paying it brief visits every year save one of his reign. Here he kept Christmas 1205 with much festivity; but his longest sojourn was in 1215, when he was at Canterbury for the greater part of the months of September and October. In the following year (1216) Canterbury was for a time in alien hands; for when the Dauphin of France, afterward Louis VIII., invaded England to wrest the crown from John, he received the submission of the castle of Canterbury.

The great event for Canterbury in the thirteenth century, and one of the most glorious of its pageants, was the translation of St. Thomas of Canterbury. The chroniclers agree in stating that the concourse of people from all nations was of a character such as England had never before witnessed. For fifty years the martyr's corpse had rested in the crypt; but on the night of July 6, 1220, it was privately removed, under the superintendence of Prior Walter, by the monks of Christ Church, in the presence of Archbishop Langton and of the Bishop of Salisbury. The remains were placed in a strong coffer studded with iron nails and clamps, and carried to the west end of the nave, where they were watched till the dawn of July 7. On that morning, in the presence of the boy-king Henry III., of too tender years to be himself

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a bearer, the coffer was raised on the shoulders of Pandulph, the papal legate, Archbishop Langton, Hubert de Burgh, the grand justiciary, and the Archbishop of Rheims, and borne by them into the quire and up the steps of Trinity chapel. As they entered the chapel, which was lined with all the English bishops and abbots and great officials of the kingdom, and with representative men from every state of Christendom, they found the new shrine, behind the altar, supported on stonework about six feet high, a triumph of the goldsmith's art, and already radiant with the gleam of a multitude of precious stones. Having deposited their load in its superb encasement, the service proceeded, the Archbishop of Rheims being the celebrant at the triumphant Eucharist.

So vast was the assemblage which then crowded both cathedral and city to the very gates, and so liberal was the provision made for their entertainment by the patriot archbishop, that the revenues of the see were encumbered by the expenditure down to the days of his fourth successor. The crowds were countless—

> 'Of bishops and abbots, priors and parsons,
> Of earls, and of barons, and of many knights thereto,
> Of serjeants, and of squires, and of his husbandmen enow,
> And of simple men eke of the land—so thick thither drew.'

Stephen Langton was well prepared for this immense concourse of all conditions of men, and was not taken aback by its numbers, for he had himself caused pro-

clamations to be circulated of the great day, whereon his martyred predecessor was to be honoured, two years before the event, and this not only throughout England, but throughout all the Christian states of Europe. Provision was made for the multitude not merely in Canterbury itself, where at each gate tuns of wine were freely distributed to all comers, but the whole way along the road from London to Canterbury hay and provender for man and beast were given to all who asked.

There was high holiday, too, at Canterbury, at the feast of Christmas 1263, when Henry III. kept that season in the city with much splendour, in the company of many of the great ones both of Church and State, who afterwards escorted him to Dover.

At the beginning of the reign of Edward I., 1272, a terrible storm of thunder and lightning, accompanied by torrents of rain, suddenly flooded the city, and caused much desolation and many deaths, for a considerable number of houses and buildings were overturned by the impetuous violence of the streams of the Stour. The abbey of St. Augustine suffered much; the waters stood high both in the church and conventual buildings.

Nor must it be forgotten that, however overburdened Canterbury may have been by the greatness of its ecclesiastical centre and surroundings, the city had an important and independent municipal life, the development and incidents of which are of some interest during the thirteenth century. The city being part of the royal demesne, was from the

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earliest accounts under the rule of an officer appointed by the crown, diversely called prefect, provost, or reeve, as has been already stated. At the time of the Domesday Survey the city was under the control of the sheriff of the county; but this was probably only a temporary arrangement, for in the following century the mention of royal reeves or bailiffs occurs in certain charters. From the time of John to 1234, two bailiffs were appointed by the king to preside over the civil jurisdiction of the town, and to account for the profits and issues; but at the latter date Henry III. granted the town to the citizens in fee-farm, and permitted them the free choice of their own bailiff. The rule by two bailiffs continued uninterruptedly till 1448, when a mayor took their place under a fresh charter. The liberties and franchises of the city were considerably extended by Henry III. in a charter of 1256.

In considering the thirteenth-century life of the town, divers exactions and burdens of King John should not be forgotten. In 1212 he demanded of the bailiffs and good men of Canterbury, if they well loved him, to furnish eighty armed men to be sent to him at Westminster. Three years later, the king demanded from Canterbury a supply of pick-axes, as many as possible, which were to be sent without delay to Rochester, and that all the smiths of the town were to be taken off other work until the supply was completed. It was a bad time for the Jews of the city, for there are many records extant of the wholly capricious way in which King John dealt with their

house property. The locality of Jewry Lane points out the quarter of the city to which the Jews were confined until their general expulsion from England in 1290.

Edward I., when passing through Canterbury on his way to Gascony in 1279, claimed the hospitality of the monks of St. Augustine. Ten years later, when returning from the same country, the king was again entertained at the great abbey. The king invited Archbishop Peckham to meet him at dinner, but the monks declined to admit the primate if he attempted to enter their house with cross erect.

One other ecclesiastical event of the close of the thirteenth century, in which the whole city took part, ought to be named—namely, the splendid enthronisation of Robert Winchelsey, the famous archbishop, on October 2, 1295, in the presence of the king and of the young princes Edward and Edmund. The story of this great ceremonial and the extraordinary rejoicings is well and eloquently told by Dr. Hook. Almost more striking and impressive in their way than the superb services in the vast cathedral were the incidents attending the festal banquet in the great hall of Canterbury, in honour of the man who but a few years before had humbly sought a gratuitous education in the school of Canterbury. In the central seat on a raised daïs, attended by the king and royal family, who alone dined with the archbishop at the high table, sat Robert Winchelsey.

'It was a glorious sight, morally viewed, to see the

son of a poor man thus consorting with princes, and waited upon by the first lords of the land; and in those days of grinding oppression, it was one of the consolations of the people that the son of a serf might become one of the magnates of the nation—all that was required being industry and that concurrence of circumstances which infidels unphilosophically attribute to chance, and believers, in their wisdom, to the providence of God.'

The whole city, townsmen and visitors, outside the princely banqueting-hall, made merry at the archbishop's expense, until the lavish hospitality, of which the minutest details are known, almost vied with that at the translation of St. Thomas; nor was Winchelsey's hospitality confined to the beginning of his rule, for he was foremost in that respect of all the prelates of Canterbury throughout his life. Two thousand loaves were distributed at his palace gate to the west of the cathedral every Sunday and Thursday, whilst money was given on great festivals to one hundred and fifty needy persons.

As we enter on the fourteenth century, so memorable a period for the glories of English ecclesiastical architecture, another famous builder among the priors deserves particular commemoration. Henry of Eastry, who was prior from 1275 to 1331, decorated the quire, in the year 1304-5, 'with the most beautiful and delicately carved stonework.' This still remains, for the most part, in good preservation. Later work of this prior's date was also singularly good, more especially the finest-known

example of a decorated window, inserted in 1330, in the south wall of St. Anselm's chapel.

At the time of the close of the reign of Edward II. and the beginning of that of Edward III., when there was much disorder, advantage was taken in certain towns, where the baser sort were jealous of the position and importance of some of the overshadowing abbeys or priories, to rise against the monks. There was a notable insurrection at Bury St. Edmunds in 1327, when the populace besieged the abbey, burnt the gates, imprisoned and wounded the monks, and sacked the church and conventual buildings; for which the punishment both in life and fines was naturally severe. About the same time, as Stow records, there was a like stir against the monks of Canterbury. The cause of this outbreak seems to have been more reasonable than that at Bury St. Edmunds, and there is no record of any excesses like those that disgraced the East Anglian rising. The king preparing an army to advance on Scotland, ordered the bailiffs and citizens of Canterbury to provide twelve horsemen and to despatch them to Newcastle. Towards this charge the citizens asked aid of the monks of Christ Church, but met with a refusal, the prior saying that this could not be done without the assent of king and archbishop, as their church had been founded by past kings 'in free and perpetual alms.' Thereupon William Chilham, one of the bailiffs, and many commoners of the city, assembled in the churchyard of the Dominicans, and conspired against the monks under a series of heads

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to the effect that no citizen should dwell in a house belonging to the priory; that they would collect all rents due to the priory and use them for the good of the commoners; that they would neither send nor sell any victuals to the monks; that a trench should be dug to prevent all ingress or egress to or from the priory; that any monk coming out should be spoiled of his garments; that all horses and beasts coming into Canterbury with carriage for the monks should be sold; that every pilgrim should at his entry swear to make no offering; and finally, that 'every of those commons aforesayd shoulde weare on their finger a ring of gold of those that belonged to Thomas Becket.' History does not say whether any of these dire threats were carried into execution.

No event of particular importance to Canterbury occurred during the primacy of Walter Reynolds and of Simon Mepeham; but when that great man John Stratford, who for so long a time directed the counsels of Edward III., was archbishop, the cathedral witnessed a strange and impressive scene, the very antithesis of those triumphant pageants that made her walls famous throughout England and even Europe in the preceding century. In 1338-9 there came a time of much peril to the kingdom, intensified in the opening months of 1340. Philip, in addition to invading Gascony, attacked the seaports of England, and encouraged cruel raids of a piratical character. Edward III. found himself deserted by his allies, and compelled to disband his mercenary troops. The archbishop had resigned the great seal in 1337,

for he was growing infirm through old age; but in April 1340 Stratford for the third time accepted the chancellorship, only to resign it finally two months later, when the king rejected his advice against the proposed naval expedition. On Edward's sudden return from Flanders, in November 1340, the king was persuaded to consider Stratford the chief cause of his troubles; the archbishop's brother, the new chancellor, was dismissed, and many of the leading judges and nobles arbitrarily imprisoned. The archbishop hastily left London for Canterbury to seek refuge at the priory. Shortly afterwards he preached to an immense assembly in the cathedral, openly bewailing how the affairs of state and the serving of the king had hitherto caused him to neglect his flock and diocese, and pledging himself to try and fulfil those duties during the remainder of his life. 'At the conclusion of the sermon,' says Dean Hook, 'the people knelt; but instead of giving the benediction, the primate of all England pronounced sentence of excommunication upon all, the king and his family alone excepted, who should disturb the peace of the kingdom; who should lay violent hands upon the persons, lands, goods, or purses of the clergy; or should violate the liberties of the Church. The anathema applied specially to all who, by any decree, should lessen the privileges conceded to the country by Magna Charta; to all who should bring false accusation against any person whatsoever; to all who should bring an archbishop or any bishop of his province into the king's hate or anger, and accuse him

or them of treason, or any other notorious and capital crime falsely

'As he ended, the torches were extinguished. The bell tolled. A stench unbearable filled the church. There was no procession. Every one retired in confusion and haste.

'When the archbishop reached the prior's lodgings, he issued a mandate to the Bishop of London and all his suffragans to cause the sentence of excommunication to be published in every church.'

The sermon and the consequent solemn excommunication had a great national effect, and probably saved the king and his then evil advisers from most disastrous actions. The archbishop became identified with his predecessor St. Thomas as the vindicator of popular rights against royal aggression. Both city and priory reaped the advantage in a great accession to the number of Canterbury pilgrims. We have here no concern with the eventual reconciliation between king and primate, or with the peaceful ending of Stratford's days in 1348.

Thomas Bradwardine, Stratford's successor, lived only a few weeks after his appointment, dying of the plague, which raged so terribly at that period of the Black Death, ere he could visit Canterbury. This awful visitation carried off the master of Eastbridge Hospital, the prioress of St. Sepulchre's, and the prior of St. Gregory's. The abbot of St. Augustine was across the seas and died of the disease at Avignon. The priory of Christ Church, considering its numbers, escaped lightly, only four of the community dying at

that time; 'this comparative immunity,' says Abbot Gasquet, 'has been ascribed to the excellent water-supply, obtained a century before for the monastery from the hills.' The fearful loss of life, and consequently of labour, brought about by this direful visitation reduced various religious houses to the brink of ruin, and impoverished all. The prioress and convent of St. Sepulchre, outside Canterbury, were in 1352 exempted from taxation because of the straits to which they had been reduced. Even the wealthy cathedral priory of Christ Church was reduced to pleading poverty. The monks petitioned the Bishop of Rochester, in 1350, to grant them the appropriation of the church of Westerham to help them in the maintenance of their traditional hospitality. They stated that they were unable to do this by reason of the great pestilence that had visited both man and beast, and adding the precise statements that they had lost 257 oxen, 511 cows, 4505 sheep, worth altogether £792, 12s. 6d.; and that 1212 acres of their land, formerly profitable, were inundated by the sea, a state of things that chiefly arose from lack of labourers to keep up the sea walls and banks.

Simon Sudbury was enthroned as primate on Palm Sunday 1376, and the ceremonial was conducted with much splendour and magnificence. It was a time when a considerable change was beginning to take place in England's church architecture—a time when the development of painted glass and the appreciation of its beauties called for larger windows wherein its

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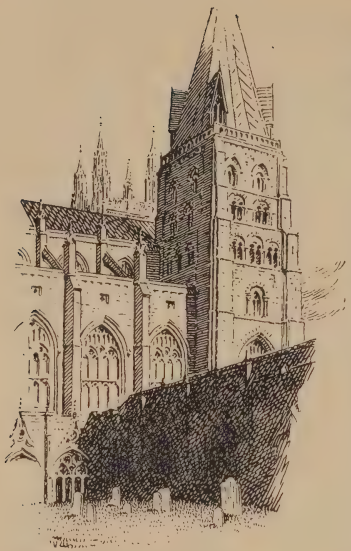
pictures, so suitable for church decorations, could be more abundantly displayed. The Norman nave and transepts of Lanfranc had remained for the most part undisturbed since the time of their erection, and were now in very bad repair. Shortly after his enthronement, Simon resolved on undertaking the costly work of putting nave and transepts in order. He pledged himself to large personal contributions, and with the cordial assent of the prior and monks issued a mandate, in 1378, to all leading ecclesiastics of his diocese authorising them to obtain subscriptions. All contributors were to obtain forty days of indulgence, and those who bore arms were to have their coats perpetuated on the bosses of the roof. Lanfranc's substantial nave was taken down at the archbishop's expense. His cognisance, a talbot sejant, is to be seen on the west corbel of the hood mould of the north-west door into the nave, which may fairly be taken as an indication of work accomplished in his lifetime. Nor, whilst giving of his energy and funds to the cathedral scheme, was he forgetful of the municipal life of the town. He erected the west gate of the city, and rebuilt the wall between that gate and the north gate. In affectionate remembrance of his munificence, the mayor and aldermen of the city were in the habit, down to Reformation days, of paying an annual visit to his tomb, there to pray for the repose of his soul. But Sudbury's work of restoring the nave of the cathedral—a necessarily long process—was terribly interrupted on June 15, 1381, when he fell a victim to the mob violence of Wat Tyler and his party,

being beheaded on Tower Hill. His headless remains were brought back to Canterbury, where they rest on the south side of the presbytery, near the tomb of an earlier martyr, St. Alphege, with a lump of lead where the head should be. His head is still preserved behind glass in the parish church of his birthplace, Sudbury, in Suffolk.

In the same month as the archbishop fell, the city and castle of Canterbury were attacked and taken by the anti-polltax insurgents, under John Salos of Malling; they plundered the citizens to the extent of £1000, and released the prisoners out of the castle.

Sudbury was followed by Archbishop Courtenay, who held the see from 1381 to 1386. Courtenay, with the assistance of Prior Chillenden (1391-1411), threw himself heartily into the work so well begun by his predecessor. He gave 1000 marks to the fund for rebuilding the nave, and obtained, amongst the subscriptions he secured, £1000 from the king for a like purpose. Amongst his many munificent gifts may be mentioned the rebuilding of the lodgings and kitchen of the infirmary of Christ Church; £200 in rebuilding the south side of the cloister; £20 for making a new glass window in the nave to the memory of St. Alphege; images of the Holy Trinity and six of the apostles, in silver gilt, for the high altar, at the vast cost of £340; and a small cope so richly jewelled that it was valued at £300. He further gave the sum of £266, 13s. 4d. towards the rebuilding of the walls of the far-reaching precincts,



THE ARUNDEL TOWER IN 1700 · BCB

within which he obtained a grant from Richard II. for the establishment of four fairs.

When Archbishop Arundel succeeded in 1397, the works of the nave, towards which he also contributed 1000 marks, were still in progress; much of the north-west tower was of his erection.

In the consideration of other events of the fourteenth century, a remarkable incident of 1322 must not be forgotten, as it bears witness to the all-prevailing respect paid to the shrine of St. Thomas. Leland tells us that in that year the inhabitants of the city were thrown into great consternation by the coming thither of Bartholomew, Lord Badlesmere. For that powerful baron, in spite of the king's inhibition, with nineteen knights visited the shrine of St. Thomas, all wearing armour under their surcoats, and with esquires openly carrying their swords. A deputation of the citizens at once proceeded to the court of Edward II. to inform of the outrage. Judgment was prompt. Lord Badlesmere was taken

prisoner and conveyed to Canterbury. Thence he was drawn to the gallows at Bleau and was there hung; his head was cut off and placed on a pole on the top of Burgate.



Dugdale records a great tournament and jousts held at Canterbury before Edward III. in 1347, at which Thomas de Grey of Codnor greatly distinguished himself.

There are records of a serious storm in 1361 which caused many Canterbury roofs and steeples to be thrown down; and of a still worse storm and earthquake in 1382, when the east window of the chapter-house was terribly shaken and shattered, as well as the great west window of the church; other edifices of note in the city, particularly the monastery of St. Augustine, suffered at the same time.

But perhaps the most notable incidents of this century, in the story of Canterbury, are those that link the memory of the Black Prince with the city. After the battle of Poitiers, on April 16, 1357, the Prince, with the French king his prisoner, landed at Sandwich. Two days later he was welcomed to Canterbury by Archbishop Islip, and, with his royal prisoner by his side, visited the shrine of St. Thomas, and made their offerings. They only tarried for a day, and then proceeded on their way to London. Behind the hospital at Harbledown, on the road to London, is an old well of singularly good water, that has for many centuries borne the name of the Black Prince's Well. The tradition has of late been perpetuated by placing a stone over it bearing the three-

feathered plume. The usual story connected with this well is, that the Black Prince remembering the purity and reputed healing quality of this water —of which he had partaken on his journey to London some years before—sent for a draught from this spring when on his death-bed. There is, after all, no inherent improbability in the story; at all events, it is a picturesque one, and helps to bear in mind an old-time national hero of sterling qualities. Long, therefore, may it live!

In 1363, when the Prince married his cousin Joan, 'he left a memorial of his marriage,' as Dean Stanley expresses it, 'in the beautiful chapel still to be seen in the crypt of the cathedral, where two priests were to pray for his soul, first in his lifetime, and also, according to the practice of those times, after his death. It is now, by a strange turn of fortune which adds another link to the historical interest of the place, the entrance to the chapel of the French congregation—the descendants of the very nation whom he conquered at Poitiers; but the situation of the two altars, where his priests stood, can still be plainly seen, and on the groined vaultings you can see his arms, and the arms of his father, and, in connection with the joyful events in thankfulness for which he founded the chapel, what seems to be the face of his beautiful wife, commonly known as the Fair Maid of Kent; and for permission to found this chantry, he left the Chapter of Canterbury an estate which still belongs to them, the manor of Fawkes Hall (Vauxhall).'

Thirteen years later he died at Westminster, after several years of seclusion and failing health, on June 8, 1376, having signed his will on the previous day. The whole English nation mourned, with an intensity of sorrow, over their departed hero; for nearly four months, namely, from June 8 to September 29, the body lay in state, within its coffin, at Westminster. Parliament met, as was then the custom, on Michaelmas Day, and then the great funeral procession started on its way to Canterbury, followed by the whole court and the Houses of Parliament. It passed down the Strand, under St. Paul's, across London Bridge, and entered on the pilgrim's road to Canterbury at Southwark. At last the west gate of the city of his burial—every detail being laid down in his testament—was reached, and here the body was met by two fully caparisoned chargers, with two completely armed riders, bearing respectively the Prince's arms of England and France, and the triple plume of ostrich feathers—the one intended to represent him as he rode in war, and the other in a black suit of armour as he rode to tournaments. At the great gate of the precincts the armed men halted, for since the murder of St. Thomas no weapon-bearer was permitted to enter, and the body was carried to the space before the high altar, where a bier was prepared to receive it. After due heraldic pomp, and the carrying out of the Church's obsequies in the blaze of flaring tapers, the body was again raised and carried to the tomb. In the centre of the crypt, where the gravestone of Archbishop Morton

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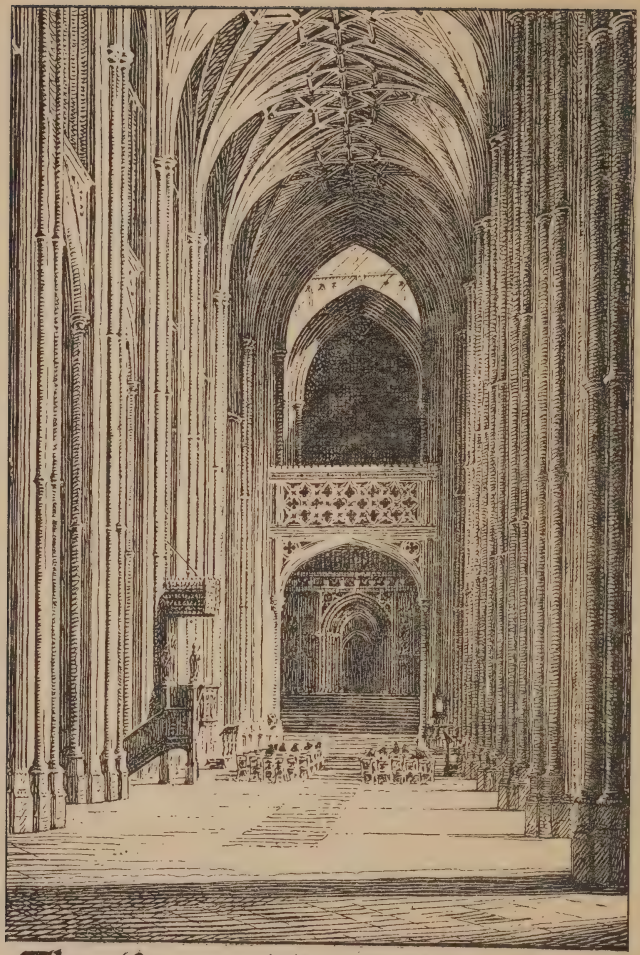
is now to be seen, the Prince had desired to be buried; but those responsible for the interment desired to do him greater honour in the upper church. In the most sacred place behind the high altar, immediately to the south of the shrine of St. Thomas, within the ancient chapel of the Holy Trinity, they desired that he should rest. The honour was all the more marked, for up to that date no other body had been admitted within the special area set apart for the shrine of the patriot sainted bishop; but it seemed on all hands to be allowed that in the case of the Black Prince, the patriot hero of a blameless life, there was no dishonour done to Becket's memory in this close companionship of death. Becket's remains have long ago been scattered to the winds, by as foul a lived and false a king as ever stained a throne of Christendom; yet his memory lives, in a special sense, by the side of where his shrine once stood, as well as in the chapel of the martyrdom. Prince Edward's bones still rest where they were placed more than five centuries ago—the bones of a brave English captain, full of valour, courtesy, and humility. Both bishop and prince were the patriots of their respective days; and it is good that at least their memories, separated by two centuries, should be united. It is well, when standing by this historic spot—for many a generation considered by far the most sacred spot in all wide England, round which thoughts of our country's past in Church and State crowd through the mind in almost bewildering confusion—it is well

to strive and pray, for England's weal, the lofty but resigned and humble prayer that came from the Black Prince's lips, when he found that battle was inevitable on Poitiers field — a prayer that has almost lapsed into a proverb—'May God defend the right.'

Prior Chillenden, under whose auspices, as recorded on his tomb, the rebuilding of the nave and transept were completed, died in 1411. In the time of his successor, John Woodnesburgh (1411-28), there was little occasion for any building; but under the rule of William Molashe (1428-38), the building of the great central tower, about whose date the architectural histories of the cathedral almost invariably blunder, was begun. The first stone was laid on August 4, 1433, a date sixty years in advance of that which is usually stated as its origin. The special time is taken from the valuable chronicle of John Stone, monk of Christ Church (1415-71), which was printed for the Cambridge Antiquarian Society in 1902. It is peculiarly interesting to note, from this contemporary entry, that the true name for this lovely tower, the crowning beauty of Canterbury Cathedral, is the Angel Steeple (see frontispiece), a name that was subsequently vulgarised into Bell Harry Tower. The name was given to it—*campanilis Angeli*—before even a stone was laid, as Prior Molashe and his monks, with the design before them, pictured in their minds what its aspiring beauties would be when satisfactorily completed. There was much delay, however, in bringing the



The Nave of the Cathedral

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work of the Angel Steeple to a happy conclusion. To Prior Selling (1472-94), with the aid of Archbishop Morton, much of the honour of its eventual completion is due, though the actual superintendence of the work was done by Thomas Goldstone II., who himself became prior in 1495.

Prior Molashe, who had hoped himself to complete the tower, provided a great bell which it seems he intended to swing therein; it was cast at London in the year 1430, but it was not blessed until June 14, 1459, and was then placed in the south-west tower. The hallowing, as recorded by Stone, was done with much solemnity by Richard, Bishop of Rochester, who named it after St. Dunstan; it is mentioned that Prior Goldstone I. attended the ceremony, vested in his pontificals.

At a previous date, namely, on March 20, 1451, Stone tells us that the same suffragan hallowed the bells in the tower of St. George. The obituary records state that Prior Goldstone I. (1449-68) completed the south-west tower of the nave, which had hitherto only been finished to the level of the porch. This tower was evidently then known as St. George's, and from Stone's entry as to the bells it is clear that it was finished by 1451.

The north-west tower of the nave had been finished long before this date, for it was Archbishop Arundel (1396-1413) who gave for it five sweet-sounding bells (*quinque campanas in sonitu dulcissimas 'Arundell ryng' vulgariter nuncupatas*), and hence this steeple was usually known as the Arundel Tower.

Canterbury

The life of all Canterbury of the fifteenth century centred round the shrine of St. Thomas; for it was in that century that the popularity of the Canterbury pilgrimage attained to its highest proportions. The stream of pilgrims never ceased throughout the year, but was naturally at its greatest height at the time of the two festivals of the martyr. The two dates were those of his actual Martyrdom on December 29, and of the Translation of his relics on July 7; the latter festival, the summer season being the chief cause, was far the most frequented. Moreover, just as there were special days in the year for the saint's peculiar honour, so there were also particular years in the century when the cult reached its highest level. Every fiftieth year, from the first establishment of the shrine down to its overthrow, was kept as a jubilee of the Translation, when the festival was extended to a fortnight's duration, and when particular indulgences were granted to all pilgrims. Six of these jubilees were kept—namely, in 1270, 1320, 1370, 1420, 1470, and 1520.

The jubilee of 1420 seems to have been specially memorable, when William Bennet and William Ickham were the two bailiffs of the city. Sumner cites an original entry among the town records as to this great festival, from which it appears that this jubilee of 'the glorious Thomas the Martyr' began at noon on the vigil of the Translation, and continued for fifteen days; that at that time the king and the Prince of Wales were absent from the kingdom at the siege of Milan; that the bailiffs arranged with

the citizens, for the good of their own souls, to make every possible provision for the visitors both within the city and in the suburbs, preparing beds for them, and other necessaries; that all the victuallers of the city, including the brewers, bakers, butchers, fishermen, cooks, and hostelers, made the greatest possible preparations for the festival; that the number of pilgrims amounted to a hundred thousand men and women, of English and foreigners; that the foreigners comprised Irish, Welsh, Scotch, French, Normans, and the inhabitants of the Channel Isles; and that the community gave thanks to God and the Blessed Virgin and the glorious Martyr Thomas, that everything passed off in peace and tranquillity, not only during the time of the sojourning in their city, but also in their coming and returning. It is further stated in this official memorandum of the city, that the victuallers provided so lavishly for the festival that they were able to sell a gallon of red wine of Gascony for 8d., a gallon of white wine for 6d.; two loaves (*panes levati*) for 1d., and to obtain a good market, through the Divine favour, for all other kinds of victuals.

Stone's chronicle is particularly interesting in the record he supplies of royal visits to Christ Church priory. Henry VI. paid eleven such visits between 1439 and 1456. On Saturday, March 14, 1439, the king arrived on foot as a pilgrim (*causa peregrinacionis*), and was received at the door of the church at noon by the Bishop of Salisbury and the prior in red copes. After procession to the shrine, all

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repaired to evensong. On March 5, 1440, the king was again at Canterbury as a pilgrim, and on this occasion laid on the high altar a great charter by which he conveyed to the prior and convent land in Thanet adjoining their manor of Monkston. The king visited the shrine for a third time as a pilgrim, on January 10, 1442, and was received by the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Salisbury, and the prior in white copes. On September 17, 1446, Queen Margaret came to Canterbury, and was received at the church door by the prior and convent in white copes; on the following day (Sunday), the queen attended High Mass; on Monday, Mass sung at the Lady altar in the crypt by the boy choristers; and on the Tuesday, Mass sung by the monks at the shrine of St. Thomas; and after dinner left Canterbury. The queen was accompanied throughout by Cardinal Beaufort. The queen's visit was followed next December by the fourth pilgrimage of the king. In 1447 Queen Margaret came on foot as a pilgrim on the vigil of Michaelmas, and on December 14 the king made his fifth pilgrimage. On March 2, 1448, the king was yet again a pilgrim at the shrine of St. Thomas; the prior and convent received him on this occasion in green copes; and he was received in like manner on December 14 of the same year.

The king's eighth visit was on the vigil of the Purification, 1451, when the prior and convent were arrayed *in capis blodiis*; Henry attended evensong, and on the morrow carried his candle. This was not

a pilgrimage visit, and the king was accompanied by the Duke of Exeter, the Duke of Somerset, the Earls of Shrewsbury and Wiltshire, and many other earls and barons. The king's ninth visit, made on April 12, 1453, was *causa peregrinacionis*; on the morrow he rode to Sandwich and Dover, but on Saturday the 14th he returned to Canterbury, and on the Sunday joined in the Sunday procession through the cloister, when the convent wore green copes.

The queen was again at Canterbury as a pilgrim on October 5, 1454; and on the following day (Sunday) she attended High Mass and second evensong; and on the Monday heard a Low Mass at the shrine of St. Thomas, and a Mass in the crypt *cum nota a pueris*.

Henry's tenth visit was on Thursday in Passion week 1456, when he came as a pilgrim. After the fateful battle of Northampton on July 11, 1460—of which certain particulars are given by Stone—the defeated king came for the last time to Canterbury. He entered the church as a pilgrim, and was received at the doors by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Ely, and the prior and convent in green copes. On the same day there arrived at Canterbury the Bishops of London, Chichester, and Exeter, with Richard, Earl of Salisbury, and Richard, Earl of Warwick. The king attended evensong, and on the following day joined in the procession. It is recorded that the prior, on this occasion Prior Goldstone, celebrated High Mass with his pastoral staff in the presence of the archbishop. The unhappy king

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tarried a while at Canterbury. On August 8 he was in the procession to the shrine of St. Thomas, through the nave and cloister and monks' cemetery and back to the church. On the vigil of the Assumption, August 14, Henry VI. was in the procession, attended High Mass and first and second evensong, but, adds the chronicler, he did not wear his crown (*non coronatus*). The king returned to London on August 18, after nones.

Two months later Edward, Duke of York, claimed the crown; he was proclaimed king on March 4, 1461, under the title of Edward IV., and on June 28 he was crowned. The new king did not long delay a visit to Canterbury, for he was there on August 14, and the complacent archbishop, prior, and convent received him at the doors with the same ceremony they had shown to Henry. Stone records six other visits of Edward IV. to the priory. The next two occasions were on January 13, 1462, when he came as a pilgrim; and on August 24, 1463.

The visit of the king, accompanied by his queen, Elizabeth, as pilgrims, on July 13, 1465, the Saturday after the feast of the Translation, was memorable. The king entered the cathedral the second hour before vespers, and was received by the prior and convent in green copes; two hours later the queen entered, and was received by the monks in white copes. On the very hour as well as day of the queen's entry, Henry VI., then in disguise in Lancashire, was captured by the new king's allies, and brought a prisoner to London. On July 14

both king and queen joined the Sunday procession. After evensong the royal party made their way to the abbey of St. Augustine, the archbishop leading the way with cross erect. Four days later, at noon, a monk from Lancashire arrived with letters to Edward telling of the capture of Henry. The time-serving archbishop (Thomas Bouchier) immediately caused a sermon to be preached in the quire of the cathedral, by a secular priest, from the text St. John vii. 23, in the presence of King Edward and his queen; the sermon ended, the archbishop began the *Te Deum*, and afterwards a procession was formed to the shrine.

Edward IV. was again at Canterbury on June 22, 1468, and with him the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, and the Lady Margaret, the king's sister, with other earls, barons, and knights. On the morrow he rode towards Thanet, and the Lady Margaret took ship at Margate, and crossed the seas for her marriage with Charles, Duke of Burgundy, which was celebrated on July 3 by the Bishop of Salisbury.

The year 1470 was not only the year of the rising against Edward IV. of Queen Margaret and Warwick, but it was also the jubilee year of the Translation of St. Thomas. The unsettled state of the kingdom prevented so many from attending this jubilee, that the archbishop extended the jubilee indulgences over the next festival time of 1471. Edward IV., however, visited Canterbury the month before the festival of 1470—namely, on June 7; on the following day

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the queen arrived; and on the 8th the Bishops of Ely, Dover, Bangor, and Carlisle entered the city. June 10 was Whitsunday, and both king and queen took part in the procession; it is mentioned by the chronicler, as though an exceptional incident, that the king did not walk crowned in the procession. They were both present at High Mass on the Monday and Tuesday of Whitsun-week, the king riding to Dover on the latter day. On Thursday Edward returned to Canterbury, and on the following day set out for London. Whilst at Canterbury on this visit Edward held a great council in Meister Homers, the name of a special guesten-house in the precincts, on the Monday and Tuesday, attended by many nobles of the kingdom, including the Bishops of Ely, Rochester, Bangor, Dover, and Carlisle, though the archbishop was absent. Among the lords temporal were the Earls of Northumberland, Essex, and Worcester.

The decisive battle of Tewkesbury was fought on May 4, 1471, and on May 26, the festival of St. Augustine, Edward IV. again visited Canterbury, with a concourse, says John Stone, of forty thousand armed men. The Yorkists affected to believe that they had been specially assisted by St. Thomas. With him came the Dukes of Clarence, Gloucester, Norfolk, and Suffolk, the Earls of Arundel, Wiltshire, and Kyme, and many barons. Notwithstanding this vast throng in May, the deferred jubilee feast of the Translation in July was not a success, for there was a grievous outbreak of the plague.

There were two deaths from the plague among the monks on the 17th and 19th of August. On the 21st there was a great shrine-carrying procession of the whole convent through the cemetery on account of the pestilence. After the procession, the prior celebrated Mass; and at the time of Mass one of the brethren held a wax taper burning in the quire, and after the Mass another brother carried his taper throughout the monastery, and the plague was stayed.

Stone's last recorded visit of Edward IV. was on the vigil of Michaelmas of the same year (1471), when he arrived at Canterbury, *causa indulgencie*, and was received at the door of the church by Prior Pelham and the monks in green copes. Thence he passed to the high altar, and immediately the convent began evensong, whilst the prior with the rest of the brethren returned to the great doors to receive the queen.

The same record also chronicles the not infrequent passing through Canterbury, *en route* for London, of ambassadors from the King of France or the Duke of Burgundy. The most interesting entry of this kind is that of the passage through Canterbury, and their visit to the cathedral on June 20, 1439, of Cardinal Beaufort, the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of Norwich and St. David's, the Duke of Norfolk, the Earls of Stafford and Oxford, and others on their way to Calais, to treat for peace with the Duke of Burgundy and with other ambassadors of the King of France. They took with them the Duke

of Orleans, so long a prisoner in England, under a strong guard.

Archbishop Bouchier, who was primate from 1454 to 1486, not only frequently entertained royalty at his palace at Canterbury, but showed his hospitality to a variety of other distinguished visitors. Dean Hook mentions with what astonishment the citizens of Canterbury, in 1468, must have been filled, when they saw two camels and four dromedaries waiting one morning for admission within their gates. This was on the occasion of the visit of the Maronite Patriarch of Antioch, Peter II., who had been driven from his country by the Turks, and was appealing to Europe for help. There was some doubt at Rome as to his entire renunciation of the Monothelite heresy, and he made a tour of the various countries of European Christendom to vindicate his orthodoxy and procure assistance.

The archbishop's last public act, when bowed down with age, was to unite in marriage Henry VII. with Elizabeth of York. The ceremony took place on January 18, 1486, the primate's hands trembling from joy as well as from age, as Fuller has it, 'to hold the posie on which the white rose and the red were tied together.' He died at Knowle on the following April 6, and was solemnly buried with much pomp in Canterbury Cathedral on April 14. He had already chosen the place for his sepulchre on the north side of the altar. He was not forgetful of the poor of Canterbury to whom he had been so great a benefactor, for he left them £100; and

to the prior and chapter of Christ Church he bequeathed 'one image of the Holy Trinity of pure gold, with the diadem, and xj balassers, x saphires, and xliiij gems called perlys,' together with a vestment of cloth of gold.

Archbishop Morton, who was made Cardinal in 1493, carried on the primacy from 1486 to 1500. He was a man of considerable power in the state, but made little mark apparently at Canterbury; nevertheless he obviously desired to be specially held in recollection in his cathedral city, for he presented the great priory church with eighty copes of white, richly embroidered with gold, and bearing his proper arms.

The municipal life of the city gained in dignity and privileges during the fifteenth century. The rule of the two bailiffs continued until 1448, when Henry VI. granted them a charter whereby they were enabled to annually chose a mayor on Holy Cross day, in the place of the bailiffs, and to become a corporation under the title of mayor and commonalty. The mayor was to have his serjeants at mace, to have the return of all writs, and to be free from interference by all outside officials. The mayor was to continue to be a justice of the peace after the lapse of his office, and the county justices were to lose all power within the walls. John Lynde, one of the two bailiffs for 1448, was elected first mayor of the city in 1449. In 1461 the privileges of the city were further extended by a charter of Edward IV. By that charter the king, after reciting previous charters, states that he considered the city of 'Canterbury to

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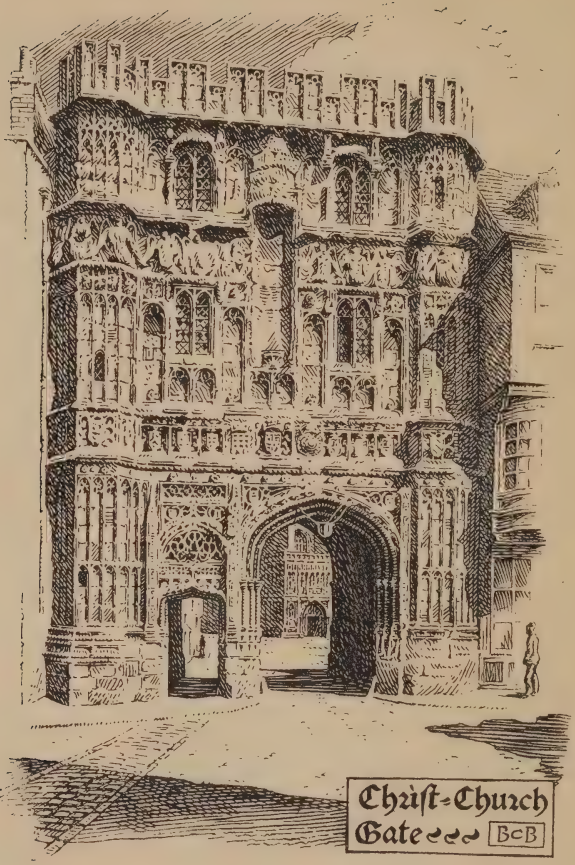
be one of the antientest cities of the realm, set in the best place for the prospect of strangers, the metropolitan see in it, in which church the blessed martyr St. Thomas, and his cousin Edward, late Prince of Wales, lay buried; and the fidelity, laudable service, wisdom, industry, and courage of the mayor and citizens of Canterbury, to him and his progenitors, Kings of England, especially to himself of late, to their no small charge and jeopardy,' and that therefore he was anxious to do the city any favour in his power. Learning from their complaints that the inhabitants had fallen into much poverty through the payment of the heavy fee-farm of £60 per annum, and more especially for their support of him and resistance of his enemies in the recent troubles, he therefore remitted to them £16, 13s. 8d. of the fee-farm yearly; granted them, to help to pay the remainder, all fines, issues, and amercements at their sessions; and made the city, with all its suburbs outside the various gates, in the county of Kent, a county in itself. The bailiff of the city was to be its sheriff, and to hold monthly courts on a Thursday.

In the year 1469 the city fell into dire disgrace with the king. Edward IV., according to Leland, came in person to Canterbury, and caused Nicholas Faunte, the mayor, with many others, to be hung at the Bullstake, for aiding Thomas the Bastard of Falconbridge. For this offence the king seized the liberties of the city, suspending the charter, and appointing one John Bromton, warden of Canter-

bury, from Whitsuntide until the following 20th of January, when their charter rights were restored.

In 1497 Henry VII., by a further charter, called the *Nova Ordinatio*, altered the basis of the city government, increasing the number of aldermen from six to twelve, but abated the number of the common council from thirty-six to twenty-four. The new charter, which put the city rule into the hands of an oligarchy for about four and a half centuries, provided that the mayor could only be chosen from the aldermen; that the mayor and aldermen should annually select two of their number, one of whom was to be chosen by the common council and freemen; and that all vacancies among the aldermen or common councilmen were to be filled by co-option.


Christ-Church
Gate
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## CHAPTER IV

### CANTERBURY OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

THE enthronement of William Wareham, who was primate from 1503 to 1532, was carried out on March 9, 1504, on a scale of unparalleled magnificence. The description of the feast occupies seven folio pages of Batteley's edition of Somner. So great was the honour paid to Wareham, that Edward, Duke of Buckingham, Lord High Constable of England, thought it no dishonour to act as his servitor at the banquet. In addition to the state banquet, the whole city had an ample share in the festivities. Throughout his primacy, Wareham

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exercised hospitality on a sumptuous scale, particularly to the great ones of the land. He had large private means, in addition to the vast revenues of his see, and it was his intention, soon after his accession to the primacy, to rebuild his palace at Canterbury on a most sumptuous scale. But a dispute arose between him and the city authorities as to the palace bounds, so that the intention was abandoned, and the archbishop, indignant at the rebuff he had experienced, spent £33,000 on his house at Otford. Henry VII. visited Wareham at Canterbury on several occasions; he was his guest there only three weeks before his death. During this last visit, the royal will was sealed, on April 10, 1509. By this will, of which Archbishop Wareham, as chancellor, was chief executor, the king founded an anniversary Mass at Christ Church and another in the abbey of St. Augustine.

The seventh and last jubilee of the Translation of St. Thomas took place in 1520, the Pope covenanting, before he granted the customary indulgences in connection with it, that he should receive half the offerings made at the shrine during the year. It was attended by Henry VIII. in company with the newly elected Emperor Charles V., whom he had met at Dover. The king and emperor entered the city on Whitsunday by St. George's Gate, the two monarchs riding under one canopy, immediately preceded by Cardinal Wolsey, and accompanied by the chief nobility of England and Spain. The streets were lined with priests and clerks, from all

the parishes within twenty miles of the city, with censers, crosses, surplices, and copes of the richest sort. At the great west doors of the church they were met by the archbishop, and after saying their devotions, they proceeded to Wareham's palace. On one evening of that week Wareham gave a great ball in the hall of the palace, when the emperor danced with the then Queen of England, and Henry with the Queen of Arragon, the emperor's mother.

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The emperor and king jointly offered 20s. on their arrival at the church on Whitsunday, and a further sum of 20s. at High Mass. On Whit Monday the king visited the shrine of St. Thomas, and offered 6s. 8d., and on Whit Tuesday he again visited the shrine, and also Our Lady Undercroft, offering that day a further sum of 20s. The king also offered 6s. 8d. on May 27, when he passed through Canterbury on his way to meet Charles at Dover.

From the directions in the State Papers as to the grand visit to Canterbury in the jubilee year, we learn that the mayor and burgesses saluted the monarchs at their entrance 'with a convenient proposition by some discreet and eloquent personage to be made'; that they were received at Christ Church by the archbishop, the Bishops of Rochester, Bangor, Hereford, St. Asaph, and Llandaff, with their suffragans and the king's chaplains; that the lodgings of the emperor and his nobles were at Christ Church, in the archbishop's palace, but that the king lodged at St. Augustine's; and that the

Bishops of Durham, Ely, Lincoln, Chester, and Exeter were in the royal train when the city was entered.

On the day of the martyrdom of St. Thomas, in December of the same year, the then devout Henry VIII. offered 40s., through his chaplain, Mr. Ley, at the Canterbury shrine. In 1528 Archbishop Wareham obtained licence from the king to alienate lands to the value of £20 to the prior and convent of Christ Church, for the support of one or two secular chaplains, to pray for the good estate of the king and queen at the altar of a certain chapel there lately built by him under the great wall of the church, near the place commonly called 'The Martirdom of Saynt Thomas'—thus again linking the future colossal spoiler of Canterbury with the saint of the city.

In August 1532 Wareham died; he was buried in the chapel that he had himself prepared near the Martyrdom. His successor, Thomas Cranmer, was not enthroned until November 3, 1533. At Canterbury, at all events, the new archbishop was most unpopular, for it was admitted on all sides that he had been promoted to further the king's divorce. The enthronement entertainments were singularly meagre, and offered an immense contrast to those of his predecessor.

Of the sad story of Elizabeth Barton, the Nun or Maid of Kent—sad in all its aspects—there is but space to say a few words; but it is impossible to be silent, because in some of its worst aspects Canterbury was directly affected. Elizabeth Barton, a

young domestic servant of a respectable farmer of Aldington, twelve miles from Canterbury, became the victim in 1525, after a severe illness, of ecstasies or trances, and was considered to have a remarkable gift of prophecy. Her reputation reached the ears of old Archbishop Wareham, and he directed Dr. Bocking, cellarer of Christ Church priory, with two of his fellow monks who were masters of arts, two Franciscan Observant friars, his official of Canterbury, and the parson of Aldington, to act as a commission of inquiry as to the truth of the matter. Their report was favourable to the maid, and the archbishop obtained her admission into the Benedictine nunnery of St. Sepulchre's, on the outskirts of Canterbury. There she became a professed nun, and for seven years was subject to ecstasies, wherein she spoke with vehemence against sin and in favour of the practices of religion, and was a power for good to many. She won the esteem of the superior of the house of Sheen, which pertained to the ascetic Order of the Carthusians, and still more notably of the most learned and prudent of the English bishops, Fisher of Rochester, who was content to regard her as the 'holy maid of Kent.'

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The maid was bold in denouncing the idea of the king's marriage with Ann Boleyn, and even obtained an interview with Henry wherein to denounce, asserting her special commission to announce the divine will. She was so revered by many, that her opposition to the king's lustful ways was a serious impediment, and no effort was spared to prove her a designing

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hypocrite. Cromwell in July 1533 ordered Archbishop Cranmer to examine her, and the prioress brought Elizabeth before the primate at Otford, where Cromwell's set of interrogations were administered to her. Gwent, the then Dean of Arches, who was present, wrote to Cromwell that Cranmer acted 'as if he did believe her every word,' and suggested she should be sent to him. The next step was the forwarding of the maid to London, where she was under the tender mercies of Cromwell till her execution, and the sudden arrest of Dr. Bocking, the cellarer, and Dom. Hadley, one of the penitentiaries of Christ Church. Prior Goldwell assured Cromwell that both these monks had simply become connected with the maid through Archbishop Wareham's own commands to become members of a commission of inquiry, and that the late archbishop had himself ordered Bocking to become the woman's confessor.

On Sunday, November 23, 1533, Elizabeth Barton; Dr. Bocking and John Dering, monks of Christ Church; Risby and Rich, two Friars Observants; the respective wardens of Canterbury and Richmond; two secular priests, one of whom was the rector of Aldington, and a layman, were stationed on a high platform at St. Paul's Cross to do public penance, and an alleged confession of the maid was read. At the beginning of the following year Cromwell decided to present a bill of attainder to Parliament, in order, as he himself declared, to secure the death of the nun and her alleged accomplices in deceit and denunciation of the king's conduct as guilty of high treason.

The way Cromwell manipulated Parliament is well shown by his action at Canterbury three years later. May the 5th, 1534, saw the execution of the nun and her seven companions in the penance of the previous November. They were done to death at Tyburn as traitors; condemned by a tribunal that never even examined the attainted persons, nor heard a word in their defence. The whole procedure bristled with irregularities, as Lord Coke has laid down. That these two monks of Christ Church and the friar of Canterbury, together with the poor nun and the rest, fell victims to the hatred and malice of Henry and Cromwell against all opposition, can scarcely fail to be brought home to all who study at first-hand the original records of the remarkable story of the Holy Maid of Kent.

Cranmer, to check comment on his execution of the divorce laws, took the strong measure of prohibiting all preaching in his diocese save under new and restricted licences; and in June, 1534, the clergy were required expressly to justify the king's divorce and new alliance under the direst and most express threats. So unpopular was the divorce that only a reign of terror kept the people down. The feeling was particularly strong in the diocese over which Cranmer, its prime supporter, ruled. When the new archbishop proposed to hold his first visitation in Canterbury, in October 1533, 'his very life,' as Dean Hook tells us, 'was in danger; he was obliged to seek protection from the Government, and a writ was directed to all dukes, viscounts, barons, etc.,

requiring them to protect the lord archbishop in the visitation of his church.' Stern measures were taken even for words of contempt. William Winchelsea, a monk of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, was committed to prison for ridiculing Cranmer to his brethren, in a place of recreation within their precincts, called 'the sporte,' or 'little joy between the peals of evensong'; he was said to have laughed about Cranmer's 'new learning,' and called him 'a fool archbishop.'

By the end of the year came the insistence on all religious definitely abjuring their allegiance to the Pope. Some of the friars, especially the Friars Observant—a reformed order of Franciscans, to which the Greyfriars of Canterbury had given their allegiance—and the Carthusians resisted; and they were almost all put to death, imprisoned, or banished. The monks and canons were terrified into submission.

On December 17, 1534, the prior and sixty-nine of the monks of Christ Church set their hands to a declaration acknowledging the royal supremacy. The original of this document is at the Public Record Office, as well as another like declaration from the same city, signed on the following 9th of January by the prior of St. Gregory's and six of the canons.

There was hardly any one now left who had the courage to withstand the king; they were all in dread of what his next step might be; they recognised his growing covetousness, and more particularly the greed of those by whom he was served; and even

after making all allowance for the difficulties of the times and the immediate danger to the life of those who were not entirely subservient, it is melancholy to note the general tendency of the religious throughout England to be if possible on friendly terms with the king's chief tool and prompter to evil, that 'Mammon of unrighteousness,' Thomas Cromwell. The dignitaries of Canterbury were well to the front in their endeavour to keep on good terms with the royal agent, and recognised his overweening desire for bribes and attentions of every kind, small or great. John, abbot of St. Augustine's, wrote to him in December 1534, that he was so impoverished of jewels and money that he could only recompense his goodness by prayer; and at the same date Thomas, prior of Christ Church, wrote saying that he had intended to send Cromwell a present of wild fowl against Christmas, but 'in consequence of the inthronisation of my lord of Canterbury last week' their swans and partridges and other game were exhausted; that they had only fruit left, among which was one 'called with us in Kent *a pome riall*, an apple good to drink wine with,' and of these he sent him a score by the bearer. But Cromwell was not a man to be put off with prayers or a handful of apples. The prior not only had to give him the reversion of several of the Christ Church farms for his servants, but in January 1536 sent him a promise of an annuity of £10. When the first half of this annuity was sent him in the following June, Cromwell, to make the thing secure, begged that it should

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be granted under the convent seal, and this was accordingly done. From Cromwell's private book of 'fees' that he obtained from the alarmed superiors of religious houses in 1536, when the smaller ones were being suppressed, we find that the actual bribes in cash that he received during the twelve months, including the annuity, amounted to £21, 5s. In October 1537, when their fears became more acute, Prior Thomas and his convent asked Cromwell to return them their old patent of an annuity of £10, as they would be happy to alter it to one for £20, for his life and that of his son Gregory—a proposition that was quite satisfactory to the king's vicar-general.

The complete subserviency of the citizens of Canterbury to the masterful king whom every one dreaded, is even more remarkable than that of the ecclesiastics. On May 11, 1536, John Hobbys, sheriff of Canterbury, held 'the county' at Canterbury, by virtue of the king's writ of summons to Parliament, to choose two burgesses. There were over eighty persons present, and their choice unanimously fell on John Starky, chamberlain and alderman of the city, and Christopher Levyns, the common clerk. After the election the mayor showed the sheriff a letter from Cromwell and the Lord Chancellor, desiring that John Briggys and Robert Darknall 'should fulfil the said rooms'; whereupon the sheriff wrote on May 12 humbly to Cromwell telling him of what had been done, and regretting that he had not been made aware of the king's

pleasure in time. But regrets did not satisfy Cromwell. The mayor was ordered to annul the election and hold another; and on May 20, the very day the letter was received, John Alcock, the mayor, ordered the commonalty to assemble in the court hall. Ninety-seven citizens appeared and, learning the king's pleasure, at once 'freely with one voice and without any contradiction' elected Darknall and Briggys, the Crown nominees.

Among the lesser monasteries suppressed in 1536 were the Canterbury houses of the Austin canons of St. Gregory, and of the nuns of the Holy Sepulchre.

In 1538 came the seizure of the friaries. Archbishop Cranmer was anxious to have some profit out of the spoils, and wrote in October to Cromwell, saying that he understood certain friaries had been already suppressed, and that he hoped the process would be extended to Canterbury, in order that 'the irreligious religious there might be extincted.' He added that he thought the Grey Friars, Canterbury, was a commodious house, and would be suitable for his servant Thomas Cobham, and begged for Cromwell's help to secure it for him. Richard Ingworth, the ex-friar, who had been made suffragan bishop of Dover, and visitor of the friaries, came to Canterbury in the following December. He found the three friaries more in debt than all they could pay; especially the Austin Friars, who were in debt £40, and their goods not worth £6, save a little plate, weighing 126 ounces. The Black and Grey Friars' goods were sufficient to pay their debts, the

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visitor's costs, and a little more. At the Austin Friars one of the friars used the visitor 'very rudely and traitorously,' and the ex-friar had him examined before the mayor. When before the mayor, the friar repeated that 'he still held and still desired to die for it, that the king may not be head of the Church of England, but that it must be a spiritual father appointed by God.' Thereupon the Bishop of Dover ordered the mayor to provide horses and men to take the prisoner to Cromwell. In his letter to Cromwell detailing these proceedings, this ex-friar, so recently promoted to a suffragan bishopric, was not ashamed to beg his master to bestow on him one of these friars' houses.

There can be little or no doubt that this prisoner was John Stone, an Austin friar of Canterbury, who was subsequently sent back to the city from London there to suffer the barbarous death reserved for traitors on the top of the Dane-John. The city accounts give the following details of the expenses of his execution :—

'Paid for half a tonne of tymber to make a payre of Gallaces to hang fryer Stone. For a Carpenter for makyng the same Gallaces and the dray. For a labourer who dygged the holes. To iiij men that holp set up the Gallaces. For drynk to them. For carriage of the tymber from Stablegate to the Dongeon. For a hardell. For a load of wood and for a horse to draw hym to the Dongeon. For ij men that sett the ketyl and parboyled hym. To ij men that caryed hys quarters to the gate and sett them

up. For a halter to hang hym. For two halfpenny halters. For Sandwich cord. For strawe. To the woman that scowred the ketyll. To hym that dyd execucion iiij$^{s}$ viij$^{d}$.'

In 1535 the priory was subject to the indignity of a visitation at the hands of Dr. Layton, a man of low birth and low life, who bore himself, as Froude admits, with overwhelming insolence, and who, when bribes were not offered him, extorted them by threats. When at last Layton got rewarded with the lucrative deanery of York, he remained true to his character and pawned the minster plate! On Saturday night, October 23, when Layton as visitor was lodging at the priory, the rushes on the floor of the great chamber, called the King's Lodging, took fire, and Layton and his servants were nearly choked with the smoke, three chambers being burnt before the fire could be got under. Layton at once wrote to Cromwell telling him how, when the fire was raging, he went into the church, and set four monks with bandogs to guard the shrine of St. Thomas, put the sexton in the vestry to guard the jewels, and appointed monks in every quarter of the church with candles. He also sent for the abbot of St. Augustine, to be in readiness to take down the shrine and convey it to his abbey if the necessity arose. Layton issued a series of injunctions, and the prior wrote to Cromwell on October 30, saying they would observe them as well as they could, but praying for mitigation in certain points. Prior Thomas wisely sent with this letter a present of a

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Kentish gelding. The injunctions ordered the whole convent to keep strictly within their precincts. The petition of the prior and convent to Cromwell prayed, *inter alia*, that the prior and other monks, in such numbers as he should direct, might from time to time be allowed for health sake to lodge at some of their own houses outside, built for recreation; to rescind the order to keep three or four more of the convent at study at Oxford besides the five they are accustomed to maintain there, as their funds would not permit of this; that their night offices might be said without other lights than those for the reader of the collects and legends; that they might be allowed to continue the fairs granted them by charter of Richard II.; and that the sextons, keepers of the shrine, and other officers of the church, might continue to lie in the church instead of in the dormitory. Among the twenty-five general injunctions given to Layton and the other members of Cromwell's band of visitors, was one which forbade the profession of any one under the age of twenty-four. This Layton interpreted as applying to those already professed as well as to the future, and accordingly insisted on several of the young monks of Christ Church being at once turned adrift. This caused much distress; the prior and convent on this point appealed to Cranmer, but in vain.

In 1538 matters fast ripened for the fall of the larger monasteries. The religious for the most part lost heart, and allowed themselves to be cajoled or threatened into signing the so-called surrenders.

On July 30 of that year John Essex, the abbot, and thirty-one of his house, executed a deed of 'surrender' of the historic monastery of St. Augustine. It must have been an additional pain to have to surrender their ancient house to such a slanderer as Layton, the king's agent. A month later Prior Goldwell, of Christ Church, now actively alarmed for the fate of his own house, wrote to Cromwell earnestly begging that they might not be compelled to abandon their habits, or break their vows, by giving up a manner of life that had been led for over nine centuries by the Benedictines of Canterbury. But the letter of counsel proved worthless. In September the king was at Canterbury, and Cromwell, who was in attendance on him, told the monks in the chapter-house that the change was close at hand. The prior, who was now an aged man and suffering from palsy, seeing that the change was inevitable, begged to be continued as dean of the new chapter, so that he might not be put from the chamber and lodging that he had occupied as prior for the past twenty-two years. His request was, however, disregarded; Nicholas Wotton was made the first dean, and the old superior had to be content with a pension of £80 a year. The actual formal 'surrender' of the prior and his convent did not take place until March 20, 1539. The charter of incorporation of the dean and twelve canons dates from April 8, 1542.

Meanwhile, a few months before the extinction of the priory, the great attraction of the cathedral

church, the source and reason for much of its noble architectural development, had been swept out of existence. The shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury far surpassed all other shrines throughout the whole of Christendom in the value and beauty of its treasures. For three and a half centuries jewels and costly offerings of every kind had been laid upon the tomb of the martyred archbishop, in addition to money gifts. Louis VII. of France placed a cup of pure gold, a much prized gem, upon the tomb in the crypt in 1179, and at the same time made the monks a royal annual grant in perpetuity of 1600 gallons of the wines of France. Towards the close of the same century came an Icelandic chieftain, Rafn Sveinbjarnarson, and left among other offerings two fine ivory teeth of the walrus. In the year 1207 the money offerings at the tomb amounted to the then great sum of £320, equal to quite £6000 of the money value of our own day. In the first jubilee, or fiftieth year after Becket's murder, when the body was moved to the shrine above, the total offerings were equivalent to at least £20,000 of money of the modern value. Then began the custom of the ordinary pilgrims making three stations, and often offerings at each: namely (1) the scene of the martyrdom, (2) the old tomb in the crypt, and (3) the actual shrine in the Trinity Chapel; the respective offerings at these three places in 1220 were £93, 0s. 2d., £275, 9s. 0d., and £702, 11s. 4d. The late Canon Scott Robertson's paper in vol. xiii. of *Archæologia Cantiana* should be consulted by

those desirous of knowing further particulars as to the offerings at the shrine and at the afterwards multiplied stations of St. Thomas.

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Henry VIII. and his ministers would have little interest in the income that this shrine had produced in the past, but the marvellous and almost incredible richness of its extant treasures would be quite a sufficient reason for the seizure of the same. In order to remove this great wealth it became necessary to degrade the popular saint from his eminence; as Marillac, the French ambassador, asserted: 'St. Thomas is declared a traitor because his relics and bones were adorned with gold and stones.' Erasmus, who made his celebrated pilgrimage to Canterbury in 1513, has left it on record that 'the least valuable portion was gold; every part glistened, shone, and sparkled with rare and very large jewels, some of them exceeding the size of a goose's egg . . . the principal of them were offerings sent by sovereign princes.' A Venetian who visited the shrine a little earlier than this, wrote: 'The tomb of St. Thomas the Martyr exceeds all belief. Notwithstanding its great size, it is wholly covered with plates of pure gold; yet the gold is scarce seen because it is covered with various precious stones, as sapphires, balasses, diamonds, rubies, and emeralds; and wherever the eye turns something more beautiful than the rest is observed; nor, in addition to these natural beauties is the skill of art wanting, for in the midst of the gold are the most beautiful sculptured gems, both small and large, as

well as such as are in relief, as agates, onyxes, cornelians, and cameos; and some cameos are of such size that I am afraid to name it; but everything is far surpassed by a ruby, not larger than a thumb-nail, which is fixed at the right of the altar. The church is somewhat dark, and particularly in the spot where the shrine is placed, and when we went to see it the sun was near setting and the weather was cloudy; nevertheless I saw the ruby as if I had it in my hand. They say it was given by a king of France.'

The last foreign person of distinction who saw the shrine on September 1, 1538, only a few days before its destruction, was Madame Montreuil, who was accompanied by the French Ambassador; she 'marvelled at the great riches thereof, saying it to be innumerable, and that if she had not seen it, all the men in the world could never have made her believe it.'

On November 16, 1538, St. Thomas was, absurdly enough, declared a traitor; every image and picture of him was to be destroyed; his festivals were to be abandoned; and his name erased from every antiphon, collect, etc., in all service-books where it occurred, 'under pain of his Majesty's indignation and imprisonment at his Grace's pleasure.' It is difficult to believe the elaborate account of a formal citation of the saint before a duly constituted court at Westminster, followed by his trial and condemnation, which has been so often cited. Although the tale was undoubtedly believed by some at Rome, the

evidence as to its real occurrence is far too weak to establish any historic certainty.

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Here it may be well to mention that, in January 1888, a skeleton was found in the centre of the crypt in a stone coffin, a few inches below the surface. It was at once suggested by some that these were the bones of Becket, hastily concealed here by the monks to avoid desecration. But, surely, if this was their object, it was the height of folly for them to hide these relics in one of the very first places where search would be made! Although the late Dean Farrar remained convinced that these were Becket's bones, the historical arguments seem overwhelming that Becket's bones were burnt by the shrine-spoilers; and, further, the condition of this skull, if it really is Becket's, gives the lie to all the contemporary accounts of his death. There is a full illustrated description of this skeleton in the thirteenth volume of *Archæologia Cantiana*. The arguments sometimes used to support the Becket view are all ably traversed and fully met by the late Father Morris, in his pamphlet entitled 'The Relics of St. Thomas of Canterbury.'

The spoils of this shrine, says Stone, filled two chests, such as six or eight men could with difficulty convey out of the church. The official return of the actual gold of the shrine was 4994¾ oz.; the gilt-plate weighed 4425 oz.; the parcel-gilt 840 oz.; and the plain silver 5286 oz.

Two contemporary accounts speak of twenty-six cart-loads of the spoils of Canterbury Cathedral being

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seized by the commissioners and sent off to London. When the marvellous wealth of the church in vestments, ornaments, and jewels of every description, apart from the actual shrine, is remembered, such a statement can be easily credited. At a date a little subsequent to the shrine-spoiling, there is a record of 26 oz. of gold and 4090 of silver being added to the king's store from Christ Church, Canterbury. The finest and most interesting book on English church-plate and vestments of mediæval days, is that full volume of original Canterbury inventories recently published by Messrs. Legg and Hope. From that work we find how extraordinary was the wealth of church goods at Christ Church even in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. One of the reasons why the church was possessed of such a remarkable profusion of costly copes, was the privilege that it possessed of receiving from every suffragan bishop of the southern province, at the time of his consecration, whether it took place at Canterbury or elsewhere, a special cope. It also appears that the abbots of the diocese of Canterbury were expected to make like offerings at the time of their election. In 1321 the church possessed no fewer than sixty-seven of these 'profession-copes,' so termed because they were offered at the time of their profession of canonical obedience to the see of Canterbury. The amices of that date, numbering sixty-three, were of unusual richness; one that had belonged to St. Thomas was ornamented with gems. Several of the stoles were adorned with gold plates and gems, and

embroidered with pearls. There were six gold chalices with their patens; the silver chalices and patens numbered thirty-seven, and there were also twenty more in the chapels of their different manors. The twelve mitres were all costly, and included a gold one given by Henry III., and enriched with pearls within and without. The silver censers, cruets, candlesticks, pyxes, etc., seem almost endless. As to the vestments, in addition to the profession-copes, there were fifty chasubles, sixty-two copes, and twenty-three pairs of tunicles and dalmatics. There were twenty-three silk albes, and one hundred and fifteen of linen. The most interesting feature of the whole of this comprehensive inventory of 1321 is the list of 'texts' (*textus*), that is of books of the Gospels, with jewelled or metal covers. They numbered twenty-two, and several of them were richly jewelled; the chief among them is described as 'a great text which is called *Domus Dei*, covered with silver and adorned with gems, with the Crucifix and Mary and John of ivory, and a white cameo beneath the foot of the Crucifix, with the four Evangelists in the four corners.' In the relics, Henry VIII.'s commissioners took no interest other than desecration, save for the caskets and shrines in which they might be placed. Christ Church, Canterbury, was certainly the greatest home in England for the relics of the saints, and probably vied in that respect with any church of Christendom, save at Rome. The store of relics began during the episcopate of Plegmund (890-909), who journeyed to Rome and 'bought the blessed

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martyr Blase with much money of gold and silver,' as Gervase tells us. Odo and Dunstan were buried in the cathedral, in the respective years 958 and 988, and both were afterwards canonised. St. Alphege's bones were removed here in 1023. The full catalogue of all the relics, of 1321, most of them in silver-gilt or even more costly cases, occupies fourteen large pages in the printed list given by Messrs. Legg and Hope. The inventories of the keeper of the Martyrdom of St. Thomas, for 1500 and 1503, in the same book, are of exceeding interest; here stood the altar of the Sword Point, where the sword point stained with the martyr's blood was preserved. The crown of St. Thomas—that is, the upper part of the skull severed at his death from the rest of the head—was attached to a mitred bust enriched with gold and silver and gems by Prior Eastry in 1313, at a cost of £115, 12s., or about £3000 of present money value. This was kept in a special aumbry, guarded by iron gates, on the south side of the altar of the Holy Trinity, in front of the shrine.

To the inventory of 1321 most notable additions were made in the time of that great benefactor Prior Chillenden, 1391-1411. In addition to several valuable single copes and chasubles and suits of vestments, there were added during this period a set of thirty-nine white copes of cloth of gold; a red suit, with twenty-two albes; a great suit of green, namely, ninety-six copes, five chasubles, six tunicles, two dalmatics, seventy-six stoles and fanons, 'and all the gear of the high altar and of St. Alphege and St. Dunstan,

of the same suit.' The jewels enumerated include the crozier, cruets, and chalice given by Bishop John of Buckingham. Canterbury of the sixteenth century

During the archbishopric of Chicheley (1414-43) there were many notable gifts, among them being a golden censer and a golden image of the Holy Trinity. Archbishop Morton (1486-1500) was most munificent in adding to the cathedral stores his gifts, including, as has been already mentioned, eighty richly embroidered white copes. The gifts of Prior Thomas Goldstone II. (1495-1517) were also munificent.

When the inventory of what the spoilers had left came to be taken on April 10, 1540, Archbishop Cranmer, Sir Richard Rich, Sir Christopher Hales, Anthony St. Leger, John ap Rice, and William Cavendish being the commissioners, a fair amount of plate and 'vestry stuff' was still to be catalogued, which was 'to be saufely kepte and ordered there untill the kinges highnes plesure be further declared.' This saving clause was interpreted as giving the king power to add to his spoil from the not inconsiderable remnant at his free will and pleasure. This power was liberally exercised from time to time, so that the church stores continued throughout the remainder of his reign and those of his children, Edward and Elizabeth, to steadily diminish. Certain pieces of silver-gilt plate, including a chalice, were added to the royal booty from Christ Church, in the very month when this solemn inventory was drawn up. In 1548 came a further wholesale spoiling of gold and silver,

including 'the silver table that stood upon their High Aulter.' An inventory drawn up at the metropolitical visitation of Parker in 1563, shows that only five out of the eight chalices left in 1540 remained. Censers of silver and silver-gilt cruets were still extant. Of the hundred white copes of 1540, fifteen were left; of the fifty green copes of the earlier date, eight; of the fifty red, seventeen; and of the thirty-seven blue copes, no fewer than twenty. Out of forty vestments or chasubles inventoried in 1540, only eight survived.

The most surprising survival of 1563, considering the furious energy with which every trace of St. Thomas was supposed to be eradicated, was—'a deske clothes with letters of nedleworke and Thomas Beckettes armes in it'; or, as it is given in another place—'a deske clothes wythe letters of nedleworke and Saint Thomas armes in yt.'

Messrs. Legg and Hope give a variety of later inventories of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, showing the gradual impoverishment of the church goods, which have, however, marvellously improved during the last quarter of a century.

The city records of the earlier half of the sixteenth century are of peculiar interest. They show the active share that the citizens took in perpetuating the fame of St. Thomas, apart from providing hospitality for the pilgrims and reaping profit from their visits. One of the bye-laws of 1490 provided that the town armour was to be kept bright, and renewed from time to time, so that the sheriff and

his henchman should ride in fit armour, with scarves of the city colours, scarlet and white, on the eve of the Translation of St. Thomas, for the setting of the watch. The mayor and aldermen, common councilmen, constables, and town clerk, were to go forth on the same errand, with torches and cressets burning. Out of consideration for the differing figures and habits of the mayors, it was kindly provided that the mayor for the time being should take his pleasure whether he rode forth on this night-tide procession in armour or in his 'scarlet and erymeyn goone'; but whatever might be his choice, the aldermen were bound to follow the example set by their chief. In 1504-5 the old custom of 'The pagent of St. Thomas' was revived, an exhibition which at the time of his July festival paraded the streets, making stations or halts from time to time, when the circumstances of the martyrdom were dramatically represented. In that year 18d. was paid for two bags of leather containing the blood which was made to spurt out during the realistic representation of the murder; a penny was paid 'for a payer of new gloves for Saynt Thomas'; whilst a shilling was expended 'for 1 quarter of lambe and brede and drynke gevyn to the children that played the knyghtes, and for them that holpe to carry the Pagent abowte.' This pageant, when out of use, at first stood in the barn of St. Sepulchre's nunnery, a yearly rent of 16d. being paid for the accommodation; but in 1529 it was transferred to the archbishop's palace, a fee of a pair of shoes, or ninepence in money if he preferred

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it, being paid to the keeper. In the city accounts for 1536-7, the 'Saynt Thomas' of former years appears as 'Bysshop Bekket,' and in that year the pageant was suppressed, the cart or waggon on which the stage was drawn about being sold for 3s. 4d. There was a brief revival of the play in the days of Queen Mary.

The city encouraged other plays besides that of 'St. Thomas.' On Twelfth Day 1502 the play of the 'Three Kyngs of Coleyn' was given in the Guildhall, where one Richard Junar was provided with twelve ells of canvas, laths and hoops, and paint at a cost of three shillings, wherewith to make three 'bests' (probably camels for the kings to ride on, or possibly animals round the manger of the Nativity); to construct them, the artist and his helper laboured for six days.

In 1503 a tent or booth was erected by the corporation, near the high road through the forest of Blean, some little distance from the city, for the refreshment of Henry VII. and Prince Arthur when they came on pilgrimage. The erection of this booth or tent, usually called the 'Hale' (i.e. *hele* or covering), frequently occurs in earlier accounts whenever royal pilgrims were expected. On this occasion the city presented Prince Arthur with a silver-gilt cup, costing £4, 16s., filled with nobles to the value of £13.

In 1504-5 two shillings were spent by the city on three gallons of wine for the Bishop of Hereford, as he passed through Canterbury on an embassy to

Rome. In the course of the two following years, the gifts of the city to distinguished personages included two gallons of wine to the archbishop, when hunting at Allington; a great conger to the Dean of Windsor; two gallons of hypocras to the three chief justices of the king; and wine and poultry to Master Poynings, on assuming the office of Warden of the Cinque Ports. The Flemish ambassadors in 1508, both when coming and returning, had a variety of delicacies provided for them in addition to more substantial fare, cockles, whelks, pears, cinnamon, green ginger, spice-bread, calves-foot jelly, and comfits.

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When Henry VIII. visited France he was royally entertained, and 'the Lady Catherine, Quene of England, at her first coming to Canterbury,' was presented with a silver-gilt cup filled with gold nobles. On the occasion when Henry accompanied his sister to Dover for her marriage with Louis XII., the mayor, aldermen, and commons rode out as far as Harbledown to meet them, and regaled themselves there whilst waiting with bread and ale. In 1514 the city gave 'a grete base, and lopsters, and iij turbotes, to the Frenche Quene for a present'; and at the same time Lord Burgavenny was presented with a dozen and a half of lobsters and three dozen of crabs, at a cost of 7s. 9d. On the last Wednesday in June 1518, Wolsey, 'the new Legatt,' visited Canterbury, and accepted a present of capons, pears, walnuts, cockles, marchpane, etc. The visit of the king with the Emperor Charles V., already

chronicled, put the city to a great expense; among the minor entries on that occasion is one 'for a rybbon of sylke that the keys of Westgate were bound with when they were delyveryd to the Emperour.' 'My Lord Cardinall attended by his minstrels' passed through on September 26, 1527, on his way to London, and received twelve capons and a gallon of hypocras. In 1533 a very different man, precursor of a new state of things, Thomas Cromwell, arrived in Canterbury, and for him were provided 'a dozen of spiced-brede, and ij lb. of orenget and suckett-bake'; but fearing this was not sufficient, the city sent after him to Calais four couple of capons.

A significant entry as to the city's acceptance of the fall of St. Thomas occurs in the accounts for 1541-2, when William Oldfield, bell-founder, was paid 'for puttyng out of Thomas Bekket in the comen seale, and graving agayn of the same.' In the next year considerable repairs were done to the Burgate. Nine load of stone was obtained from the suppressed monastery of St. Augustine. The material cost the city nothing, but 13½d. was paid for carriage, and two labourers were also paid for their four days of destruction. In 1544 the corporation bought many tenements from the king which had belonged to the suppressed monasteries or chantries of the city. In 1548-9 further onslaughts were made on St. Augustine's monastery for the repair of Burgate and the city walls; in the same year the treasurer of the new chapter of Christ

Church sold the city stone from some of their buildings to be broken up for the repair of the roads. 'My Lord Protector Somerset,' called by Dean Hook 'one of a gang of unprincipled robbers,' was presented that year with some dozens of capons and rabbits. The city was put to the expense in 1551 of 43s. for 'the burning of Mistress Arden,' and the hanging of her accomplice George Bradshaw, the culprits of the Faversham tragedy.

The accounts of 1553 show that the city was much agitated at the news of Wyatt's rebellion; the walls were repaired, ammunition was laid in, and cannon fetched from the archbishop's palace, whilst Peter Nycolls, the trumpeter, was paid 'for blowyng at the proclamacyon and for repellyng of Wyatt.' Queen Mary despatched a pursuivant to Canterbury with a letter of thanks to the city for 'their trouble and fydelitie borne unto her Grace in the tyme of the rebellyon.' The marching watch on the eve of St. Thomas was revived with much circumstance and unwonted splendour.

Putting deep religious feeling on one side, there can be no doubt that Canterbury as a city much regretted the sombre changes of the past twenty years. Consequently, when Cardinal Pole arrived from Dover on the evening of November 20, 1554, escorted by a splendidly equipped train of four hundred horsemen, 'the citizens,' as Dean Hook expresses it, 'were reminded of the golden days of which their fathers had spoken, when pilgrimages to the shrine of St. Thomas brought grist to many and

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various mills; and the cheers of the approaching multitude met with a response from the cheers of the multitude by whom the chapter going forth to meet the royal cardinal were acclaimed.' The civic authorities united with the dignitaries and officials of Christ Church in escorting the cardinal to the archdeacon's residence, for the archiepiscopal palace, burnt down three years before, was still in ruins. King Philip visited Canterbury in 1554, when the city presented him with £20, and gave 13s. 4d. to his heralds and trumpeters. There were no particular festivities at the accession of Pole to the primacy, for he could not leave London, and was enthroned by proxy. On July 8, 1558, Queen Mary passed through Canterbury, and was presented by the mayor with a purse of twenty angels. Her departure for the house of Sir Thomas Moyle, through Wincheap, gave an opportunity for the assertion of the county rights of Canterbury. Mr. Mayor rode before her Grace, carrying the city mace, 'till they came to the lane leading to the meadow late of Sir James Hales; at which place Sir Thomas Moyle, Sheriff of Kent, requires him to lay down his mace, which the mayor denies to do; but says that he will bear his mace, as far as the liberty of the city goes, which is to the utter part of the stone wall of St. Jacob's, and so does. All which way the Sheriff of Kent gives place, and wears no rod; and at the utter place of the said wall, the mayor takes leave of the queen's Majesty, and she departs, giving him most hearty thanks.'

In 1556-7 Canterbury Castle was disgraced by

being made the prison of many of the victims of the shameful Marian persecution throughout the county of Kent. Fox the martyrologist, though often careless and reckless in his statements, gives various sad particulars of these Kent victims of cruel religious zeal which, there seems no reason to doubt, are in the main accurate. Their food in prison was altogether insufficient, and five died in confinement. Six were burnt at Canterbury on January 13, 1557, and seven more martyrs met with a like death on June 19 of the same year. They were all of humble birth, and none of them apparently citizens of Canterbury.

On November 17, 1558, Queen Mary died, and on the 18th Pole followed her, having survived his cousin only two-and-twenty hours. For forty days the cardinal's body lay in state at Lambeth, when it was conveyed to Canterbury and met by a large concourse of clergy and citizens. He was buried, by his own request, in the chapel of St. Thomas.

Matthew Parker, the next primate, was consecrated in December 1559, and was enthroned, like his predecessor, by proxy. Parker made his mark on Canterbury. He was distressed at the ruinous condition of his palace there, in whose splendid hall so many kings and great personages of both Church and State had been for centuries entertained. He speedily set in hand the work of restoration, spending on it in 1560-61, as his careful account-books show, the large sum of £1140, 15s. 4d. Parker made his own chief residence at the comparatively small house

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of Bekesborne, within three miles of his cathedral city; only restoring the Canterbury palace sufficiently to enable him to entertain there on a festive scale. So soon as the palace was in a condition to admit of it, namely, in 1565, the archbishop held therein three great festivities. The first, which lasted for three days, beginning on Whitsunday, was devoted to a reunion of the ecclesiastical and civil authorities of Canterbury, not forgetting the poor of the city. On Trinity Sunday—a most incongruous day, for Parker surely recollected that it was a festival of St. Thomas's own founding—the archbishop held a festival banquet in celebration of the memory of Henry VIII. The third entertainment was on July 23, on the occasion of the assizes, when the judges, sheriffs, justices of the peace, lawyers, and all their minor officials were the guests.

In the course of her progress in 1573, Queen Elizabeth held her court at St. Augustine's. After the dissolution of the abbey, the principal buildings such as the great church, the refectory, dormitory, and infirmary, were stripped of their lead and speedily went to ruin; the walls being used as quarries for city purposes, as has been already noted. But the abbot's lodgings, guest-hall, and other parts were sufficiently good for Henry VIII. to convert the place into a royal palace, the principal front of which was turned to the south. Queen Mary granted this house and site to Cardinal Pole for life, and Queen Elizabeth granted it, in 1564, to Henry, Lord Cobham, who was its possessor during her first visit

to Canterbury. The corporation on this occasion gave the queen £30 in a scented purse; it was an expensive time for the city, for every one of the queen's train seems to have expected and received a gift. On her arrival at the precincts on September 3, the queen was received by the archbishop and the Bishops of Lincoln and Rochester, and alighted from her horse at the west door of the cathedral, and proceeded into the quire under a canopy where she heard evensong, and afterwards departed to her lodgings at St. Augustine's. On September 7, the queen's birthday, Parker gave a sumptuous banquet in her honour, in the great hall of his palace, when a vast train of nobles, the two French ambassadors, the mayor and aldermen of the city, and ladies of honour, sat down with her Majesty. The queen on this occasion was seated in an ancient marble chair (*in veteri quadam marmorea cathedra*), covered over with cloth of gold. It would seem as if Parker had the bad taste to remove the ancient 'patriarchal chair' from the cathedral church for this purpose. The queen tarried fourteen days at Canterbury, leaving the city on Wednesday, September 15. Elizabeth paid a second visit to Canterbury in 1582, when the mayor presented her with £20 in a silver-gilt cup. It was during Parker's primacy, namely, in 1561, that the crypt of the cathedral was granted for worship to certain French Protestants.

Edmund Grindal, the most Puritan-minded of all the primates of England, who followed Parker in 1576, was also enthroned by deputy. He was little

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known and less appreciated at Canterbury; but by his will in 1583 he left £100 to the mayor and commonalty of Canterbury, to be expended in providing materials for work for the poor.

John Whitgift, who held the primacy from 1583 to 1604, gave great pleasure to the townsmen of Canterbury by being personally enthroned. He was the son of a wealthy merchant and had a large private fortune, so that he could well afford to bear the expense of festivities that approximated to the old lavish scale.

In 1587 Earl Leicester was in Canterbury, and the city presented him with marchpane (almond toffee) 'wrought and fair gilded,' four pounds of perfumed quinces, and a good supply of perfumed cherries and spiced comfits, at a cost of 20s. These sweets were accompanied by the further gift of white hippocras at a cost of 23s. In the same year the Earl of Derby received a marchpane; and two gallons of white hippocras with four boxes of marmalade were given to the son and daughter of the Lord Chief Baron.

But 1588 saw more serious extraordinary expenditure. The armada was hourly expected, and a camp was established at Northborne to guard the low-lying coast between Deal and Ramsgate. To this camp flocked the various companies of the East Kent levies. Canterbury contributed two hundred men under the leadership of Alderman Bartholomew Brown. The contingent from the city consisted chiefly of bowmen and billmen; sixty bows and bow-

strings were specially provided by the city for the former, whilst the latter were armed with the weapons and corslets stored up in the Guildhall. In addition there were twenty 'trayned shot' or 'calyver men.' It is of particular interest to note that the foreign refugees who had settled in the city a quarter of a century before this date, had their own company. The Walloon drummer's poor children were supported by the town during their father's absence at the camp. The Canterbury men were determined to make a brave show, for by far the heaviest expense incurred by the town in connection with their troop was the providing of two ensigns. For this purpose thirteen ells of sarsenet were bought at a cost of £3, 10s. 4d.; the making of them, 10s.; heads for the staves, 12d.; two ounces of sewing silk, 20d.; and two tassels, 2s. The next heaviest payment was 39s. 3d. for unguents and other things required for one Russell, the surgeon of the company, together with a chest in which 'to bestowe his instruments of Surgerie'; fortunately they were not required.

Canterbury of the sixteenth century

A gift to Archbishop Whitgift from the corporation, in the armada year, comprised sugar-loaves (then a common donation to officials throughout the kingdom), firkins of salted sturgeon, and four dozen quails, with a cage for these birds and hempseed to feed them with till they were wanted for the table. The accounts for 1590-1 show that Canterbury at that time changed the uniform of its soldiers from yellow to red, the expense being defrayed by a special

rate on each ward. About this date a great sum of money was spent in an endeavour to scour out and deepen the river Stour. Thirty shillings was paid to the gentlemen who were sent down 'to take view of the ryver and levell for making the ryver navigable' up to Canterbury. A toll was taken on travelling wagons and on merchandise passing through the city to help to provide the necessary funds, in addition to a special assessment of the inhabitants. But after some years of fruitless labour and great expenditure, which included compensation to interrupted millers, the whole plan had to be abandoned, and Fordwich remained as before the port of Canterbury.

The plague afflicted Canterbury on several occasions during Elizabeth's reign, particularly in 1593, when a legacy of £20 left to the town by Chief Baron Manwood, of Hackington, was appropriated for the relief of those attacked, and a voluntary subscription was opened for the same purpose. The payments in connection with this visitation, which lasted from September to January, include fees to watchers engaged to see that none came out of the infected houses.

In 1597-8 Archbishop Whitgift entertained the corporation at his palace; and a charge was incurred 'for bankettyng dyshes that were sent to gratify Mr. Deane Nevill at his comying to Christ Church.'

The disgraceful religious persecution of Mary's reign found its reflection in the long-continued persecution of those who clung to the unreformed

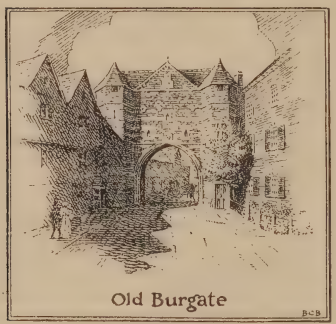
faith during the reign of Elizabeth. In the autumn of 1588 Canterbury, which had been shamed by the burning of martyrs thirty years before, was equally disgraced by the shedding of the blood of three priests and a layman of good birth, who suffered the peculiarly hideous and long-drawn death reserved for traitors, though guilty of nothing but adherence to their faith, and every whit as much martyrs for their religion as those who died under Mary.

Canterbury of the sixteenth century

IN ST. DUNSTAN'S

## CHAPTER V

### CANTERBURY UNDER THE STUARTS AND COMMONWEALTH



Old Burgate

ARCHBISHOP WHITGIFT outlived Queen Elizabeth by a twelvemonth, and was succeeded in 1604 by Richard Bancroft, who made no mark on Canterbury during the six years of his primacy. When Mr. Mayor and the aldermen met at the Lion to discuss the question of the proclamation of James I., they spent 10d. of the city money on wine. Just at the time of Queen Elizabeth's last grave illness, when they did not know whether she was not actually dead, the town made a gift to a company of players to withhold their performance, 'because it was thought fit they should not play at all.' In 1609 the city obtained a new charter from James I., confirming all

their old privileges and granting certain additional liberties, including the right of having a sword borne before the mayors. The costs of obtaining this charter amounted to the great sum of £379, 13s. The exact cost of the sword and scabbard, entitled in the accounts 'that memorable ensigne of honor and justice,' was 41s. A special officer, the sword-bearer, was appointed at a salary of £10. The accounts for 1610-11 include various charges incurred for the due keeping of November 5, when 14s. 7d. was paid for wine, 6s. 8d. for the waits, 5s. for other musicians, and 5s. for five pounds of gunpowder. Moreover, 20s. was at the same time paid to thirty of 'our souldiers which dyd show themselves with their musketts there,' together with 10s. for additional gunpowder for them. The aldermen's wives dined together, when the large sum of 11s. 4d. was spent on wine for them and three officers that attended them. A seat was this year placed in the cathedral 'at the syde of the west ile, for the Sword-bearer to sit on, with a cheyne to fasten yt.'

A stately visit was paid to Canterbury in 1613 by Prince Charles, his sister Elizabeth, and her husband the Palgrave. The city waits discoursed loud music on the top of All Saints' tower; the mayor and aldermen in their scarlet and the common councilmen met them at the Westgate, where each of the three visitors was presented with silver-gilt cups of varying pattern, whilst Mr. Recorder made discourse to them; the city soldiers, eighty in number, in their red coats and new hats and feathers, armed with

halberts, lined the streets from Westgate to Christ Church. The royal party lodged at the deanery for nine days. The morning after their arrival, at the dean's request, a pike was lent from the court-house, to which a colour was attached and mounted on the Angel Steeple, to know when the wind did shift well for the Lady Elizabeth and her husband to take ship from Margate.

George Abbot, who had succeeded to the primacy in 1611, and was hardly ever at Canterbury, gave a fat buck to the city in 1615, when the mayor in return made gifts to the archbishop's household. The archbishop gave a more permanent benefaction to Canterbury in 1620, when he gave a handsome conduit to the inhabitants, which was erected behind the church of St. Andrew.

The corporation continued to be generous to distinguished strangers passing through their town. On December 20, 1621, they entertained the French ambassador; in June 1623, they gave cakes and wine to the Spanish ambassador; in 1624, a torch was purchased when 'Mr. Mayor went to salute the Embassadors that came from the Archdutchess'; and in 1625 a marchpane, or mass of sticky sweetmeat, was bestowed on 'Monsieur Devill Core, a French Embassador.'

June 13, 1625, was a high day for Canterbury, for on that day Charles I. entered the city and proceeded with his youthful queen, a girl of fifteen, to the house or palace of St. Augustine's. Charles had been married by proxy on May 1, at Notre Dame,

Paris, but he had first set eyes on his bride that morning after her landing the previous day at Dover. The corporation made every preparation for the due reception of the youthful sovereigns. Extra drummers and fifers were added to the city waits; loads of sand were cast over the streets; a six-staved canopy was got ready for carrying over the heads of royalty; a mason and his man worked for eleven days on the repair of Westgate; the royal arms at the Bullstake were repainted; the mayor and aldermen and common council-men in all their bravery met the king and queen at Westgate and there presented them with loyal addresses; and handsome gifts were made to all members of the royal household.

Canterbury under the Stuarts and Commonwealth

A difficulty that arose about billeting soldiers caused the mayor and aldermen to write to the Privy Council, on May 20, 1628. In that communication they certify the names of those who refused to billet or to contribute to the billeting of the soldiers of Sir Pierce Crosby's regiment. The Walloon congregation, who are vaguely stated to have been a third or fourth part of the city, protested that they could pay no longer. The soldiers being cast out of billet had grown discontented, and their officers threatened to be gone and leave the soldiers to spoil and shift for themselves. The corporation complained that their markets were decayed, their trade spoiled, and many poor tradesmen undone; they therefore earnestly besought the Council to rid them of this burden or to give them relief. In July the mayor wrote to the Lord-

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Lieutenant of Kent stating that the inhabitants absolutely refused to billet the soldiers for even a few days longer, and that eighty were unbilleted and ready to perish for want of means. The mayor and aldermen billeted some at their own expense, but the inhabitants at large were firm in refusing to lodge the soldiers without any recompense, and eventually they were withdrawn. This was the beginning of serious friction between Canterbury and the Privy Council, and hence the king.

In 1634-5 difficulties of Archbishop Laud's gendering, between the commissaries of his archiepiscopal visitation and the ministers of the Walloon congregation, intensified the feeling of dislike towards the court party which was gradually rising in this city. The commissaries ordered that all the Walloons must resort to the parish churches of those parishes where they dwelt to hear service and sermons, and to perform all duties required of parishioners. It was further laid down that the ministers and all other of their congregation, alien born, were to use the liturgy of the Book of Common Prayer faithfully translated into French. Whereupon the mayor and commonalty petitioned the archbishop, setting forth the inconveniences that would fall upon the city from such a decree. Up to that date the Walloons had maintained their own poor at a cost to themselves of over £150 a year; if they were made regular parishioners the maintenance of their poor would fall on the parishes, already much burdened, and might prove dangerous, for the English poor were all too

ready to quarrel with them. The result would be, said the corporation, to jeopardise trades of which no Englishman in their city ever had any knowledge, and many poor English women, boys and girls would no longer be employed in spinning, winding, and such-like works. The authorities were of opinion that 'this matter is of the greatest importance to this city that has fallen within the memory of man,' and they prayed Laud to suffer the strangers, both natives and aliens, to remain within the government of their own congregation. This application resulted in the archbishop making certain concessions. In September 1635 the ministers and elders of the Walloon church of Canterbury, and of the Belgian church at Sandwich, appeared personally before the vicar-general, the dean, and one of the canons, acting as commissaries, when they were told that all the aliens (non-naturalised) of these congregations, and their descendants of the first generation, might retain their former privileges, but that all others were to frequent their parish churches like the rest of the king's subjects; but that nevertheless they were to be held liable for the support of the ministers and poor of the foreign congregations. Previous to this decision being given the archbishop had replied to the mayor in a letter of much smartness, but in a strain scarcely likely to appease opponents. He told the mayor that the allegation that the trades of weaving would fail if the Walloons had to attend their parish churches was quite unreasonable; for the 'archbishop hopes the congregation does not set rules to their trades

while they are at church, nor make it part of the service. And whereas petitioners add that no Englishman has ever had any knowledge of those trades, the Lords (of the Council) like that worse than anything else, for why should the strangers come here and enjoy the peace of the kingdom and eat of the fat of the land, and not vouchsafe to teach such English as are apt.'

In 1636-7 Canterbury's irritation, in common with almost all towns and cities, was considerable as to the ship-money, though there was less reason perhaps in this city's objection than in those which were in the heart of the kingdom. Canterbury, moreover, did not base its objections so much on the plea that it was not done by way of Parliament, as on the largeness of the assessment, which was at a double rate to that adopted for the county.

In 1639 eighty men were arrayed by the city to join the forces against the Scots. In 1641 Charles I., when the perilous times were rapidly approaching, was again at Canterbury; gratuities to the amount of £4, 10s. were given to his attendants.

There was a general collection throughout those parts of England, subject to the Parliament in 1642, on behalf of 'the poore distressed of Ireland,' when the minister, elders, and deacons of the Walloon congregation handed over the considerable sum of £52, 12s. 11½d. to Mr. Vespasian Harris, the Sheriff of Canterbury, which had been gathered from their people of all sorts, fathers and mothers, and children and servants.

The irritation at Canterbury against the king's exactions, and the dislike of Laud's actions towards the Walloons (who numbered nine hundred communicants) brought about much sympathy with the Parliament even before the Civil War had actually broken out, and at the beginning of hostilities these tendencies were soon openly manifested. In 1642 the old muskets and calivers in the Guildhall were delivered out to be restocked, the walls and gates were repaired, ordnance and ammunition provided, and all things necessary for the fortifying of the city were put in hand; toward this work the Parliament contributed £400. Attention was specially paid in the following year to the fortifying and watching of the Dane-John. In July four of the city householders were ordered to be on watch there during the day, and ten at night. In October these watchmen on the walls and at the gates were increased to twelve in the day, and fourteen at night.

Canterbury under the Stuarts and Commonwealth

In August 1642 Colonel Sandys and his Parliamentary troop entered Canterbury, and did considerable and disgraceful defacement to the cathedral, according to the letter of Dr. Paske, the subdean, written on August 30. 'When the Souldiers entered the Church and Quire, they giant-like began to fight with God himself, overthrew the Communion Table, toare the Velvett Cloth from before it, defaced the goodly Skreen or Tabernacle worke, violated the Monuments of the dead, spoiled the Organs, brake downe the ancient Railes and Seates, with the brazen Eagle that did support the Bible, forced open

the Cupboards of the Singing-men, rent some of their Surplices, Gownes, and Bibles, and carryed away others, mangled all our Service-bookes, and Books of Comon-prayer, bestrowing the whole Pavement with the leaves thereof: a miserable spectacle to all good eyes.'

In June 1644 one Richard Culmer, 'minister of God's Word, dwelling in Canterbury: heretofore of Magdalen Colledge in Cambridge, Master of Arts,' published a 24-page pamphlet entitled 'Cathedrall Newes from Canterbury, shewing the Canterburian Cathedrall to be in an Abbey-like corrupt and rotten condition, which cals for a speedy Reformation or Dissolution.' The description of the services, cited from a petition to Parliament in 1640, is interesting. It is stated that the petty canons and singing-men sing the service in pricksong 'after the Romish fashion' in the quire; and that there is set up at the east end of the quire an altar with candlesticks and tapers, provided recently 'with a most idolatrous Glory Cloth or back cloth, towards which Altar they crouch and duck three times at their going up to it'; that 'a large, warm, and well-seated Sermon house' had been abandoned for a pulpit in the quire; that all the communion tables in the city churches had been moved to the east wall and railed in; and that a superstitious font with three ascents of apostles, evangelists, and angels (the present one) had been set up in the cathedral nave, and consecrated by the Bishop of Oxford, etc. The pamphlet, after citing this petition, waxes scurrilous

and scandalous, and the language vies with some of the worst of the Mar-prelate series of the previous century. The vast revenues are used to support 'cathedrall carding, dicing, dancing, swearing, drunkennesse, and drabbing too.' Or again, 'the cathedrallists are living like boares in a paddock or stie.' Part, too, of the pamphlet is devoted to a glowing record of the virtuous deeds accomplished in breaking the picture of 'Austin the Monke' out of the east window, and hewing down Christ and His twelve apostles over the west door of the quire with twelve 'mytred saints,' and particularly the utter smashing of 'the great idolatrous window on the left hand as you goe up into the Quire.' The whole concludes with the news that lest this cathedral abbey should prove another Lichfield close to the enemy to fortify and roost in, 'the huge Citie-like gates of that Cathedrall Corporation are all taken down and laid aside; which was done when the Kentish malignants began to rise against the King, Parliament, and Kingdom.'

Canterbury under the Stuarts and Commonwealth

To this fierce pamphlet an equally fierce rejoinder was speedily forthcoming, printed by H. Hull, Oxford, in 1644, entitled '*Antidotum Culmerianum*, or Animadversions upon a late Pamphlet,' etc. 'The mouth of them that speak lies shall be stopped' was chosen as the motto for the title-page. The writer affects at first to think that Culmer intended 'the corrupt and rotten condition of the cathedral' and suchlike phrases to be applied to the material condition of the fabric; and if that was the case he is in

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entire accord with Culmer, for, thanks to him and his brothers of the 'Orderly Reformation' school, the great church has been 'exposed to the injury of all weathers, by removing its wonted glazed shelter of a stronge thicknesse, insomuch as, what with the Raine somtimes, with Snow another while, getting in at the broken windowes in great abundance, corruption and rottennesse have begun to seize on the walls. And for the Floore, in what a strange uncouth pickle it was, all the Church over, the warme and well-seasoned Sermon-house itself not excepted, with the great Snow the last winter, and both before and since with the raine, is too well knowne (I wish it were not) both to strangers and domesticks.' A spirited protest is made against arguing down any society, corporation, college or company from the personal faults or corruptions of one or more of its particular members. Ridley, Becon, Ball, Whitaker, Saravia, Casaubon, Boys, Clerke, Wilson, and Du Moulin are named as a proof that Canterbury Cathedral had been fruitful of famous men since Reformation days. Then the tables are turned on 'Dick Culmer,' who is told that he was well known in Cambridge as a sturdy, stout trencherman, famous for football and swimming, but of no learning nor ability; and further that he was possessed of the nine marks of the beast, which begin with refractoriness and end with lying. Under each of these heads he is chastised with vigour and a masterly strength of language. As instances of his actions, it is stated that he was the foremost

and the ringleader in the late shameless rising, in 'threshing and clashing downe the windowes in that promiscuous way without any distinction of Kings from Saints, of military men from Martyrs, so contrary to his commission, the Ordinance of Parliament; for that end with an over daring boldnesse (by his owne confession) climbing ladders of no common height (a shorter one may serve his turne another day) no more scornfull than himselfe, scoffing Lucian-like in termes concerning our Saviour and his Apostles figures at their pulling downe; who forwarder than he shamefully to violate the sepulchres and monuments of the dead; who but he made the place his refectory, his dining-roome, the place of his repast at that time, being so sedulous, hot and intent upon the worke that to lose no time in following it, he tooke his bottle and bag with him to victuall himselfe upon the place.' He is then accused of having openly, at midday, before many, done that deliberately in the church which cannot be reprinted, literally converting the cathedral 'to what his black mouth doth not sticke to call it, an Augean stable. What Christian's heart abominates not this unheard of, prophane, lewd impudence, and riseth not in detestation both of it and the author.' Much of the rest of this 36-page pamphlet is occupied in giving the lie direct, with apparently abundance of proof, to most of Culmer's assertions.

Canterbury under the Stuarts and Commonwealth

What made the conduct of this local foul-tongued and foul-lived iconoclast, known in Canterbury as 'Blue Dick,' the more detestable, was that he was

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a recent renegade from the most extreme advocacy of Church and King principles, as is proved by documents cited in the rejoinder.

On Friday, January 10, 1645, Laud was beheaded on Tower Hill, the production of a royal pardon being but vanity in the then temperament of the people; and thus another name was added to the roll of Canterbury's martyred archbishops—St. Alphege, St. Thomas, Simon of Sudbury, and now William Laud.

Article xii. of the impeachment of Laud had reference to his treatment of the Walloons, which, owing to their numbers, seems to have been more keenly felt at Canterbury than elsewhere. But the citizens of Canterbury, though the archbishop was beheaded, and episcopacy under heavy penalties driven from within their walls, could not at this juncture have found their foreign fellow-townsmen pleasant companions. The Walloons were at that time split into factions, and most bitter strife arose amongst them. Only a few months after the head of him whom they affected to think their arch-enemy had rolled on the scaffold, Pastor Delmé was charged with heresy on seven points of doctrine, his most bitter accuser being a woman; their meetings for service in the crypt of the cathedral led to most unseemly uproar. On one occasion their own officials put it on record that 'There was talking, whistling, and scuffling of feet, noise and disorder of one kind or another, the like of which were never heard; and the elder-reader retired for safety to the

*parquet*, where, after the benediction, he and others of the elders were besieged by a number of the people.' Their conduct grew so outrageous that the magistrates had for a time to intervene and to prohibit their services.

Canterbury under the Stuarts and Commonwealth

On Christmas Day 1647, a number of those who were stealthily churchmen met in St. Andrew's church, simply to hear a sermon appropriate to the day, for they dared not to publicly produce a Book of Common Prayer or to use any of the old liturgical forms. The mayor, a bigoted Puritan, detested the least observance of a prohibited festival, even if it happened to be the birthday of the Saviour, and was scandalised at this quiet and orderly observance. Finding some of the shops shut, he insisted on them being opened; and declaring that the congregation in St. Andrew's was an illegal assembly, drove them forth with violence, wounding and beating some, and eventually imprisoning others. This rough treatment roused the ire of some of the 'King's men' in the city to active resentment, 'the Mayor's heels were flung up, and his Worship thrown in the kennel.' A genuine riot was imminent, for some of the Royalists seized the city gates and magazine. They were, however, persuaded by the magistrates to retire, under a pledge that no one should be harmed for what was done. On January 5, 1647-8, a pamphlet was published, entitled 'A Declaration of many thousands of the City of Canterbury or County of Kent, concerning the late Tumult in the City of Canterbury, provokt by the Mayor's violent proceed-

ings against those who desired to continue the Celebration of the Feast of Christ's Nativity, 1500 years and upwards maintained in the Church.' It seems quite clear that there would have been no disturbance if the mayor had not actively molested those who were fearfully listening to a Christmas Day sermon.

The authorities in London refused to let the matter rest, and within a month sent down a regiment of foot, arrested the friendly justices, and hurried them off to Leeds Castle. Eventually a special commission was held at Canterbury, under Judge Wild. The grand jury twice refused to bring in a true bill against the prisoners, and drew up a famous petition to Parliament on the king's behalf. Two hundred of the gentry signed it that day, copies were sent throughout Kent, and word was passed to meet at Blackheath on May 30, 1648, to carry the petition to Westminster. The meeting was forbidden, whereupon its promoters took a bolder line, and assembled at Canterbury on May 23, when a large number of knights, gentry, and others resolved to march to London with the petition in one hand and the sword in the other. The arms and ammunition of the city were seized, and the 'Insurrection of Kent,' a genuine and serious movement for monarchy and episcopacy, began. Twenty thousand had signed the petition, and ten thousand took up arms. They gained possession of the castles of Deal, Walmer, and Sandown, but they were utterly routed at Maidstone. At the end of the insurrection, the cathedral was used for the

delivery and storing of the arms and horses of the 'rebels.' After that Canterbury settled down in peace under the Commonwealth for some twelve years, no further sums being spent on fortifications. In 1658-9 the city gates were dismantled, and the walls were everywhere falling into decay.

Canterbury under the Stuarts and Commonwealth

In 1651 Oliver Cromwell passed through Canterbury, and the city gave a banquet in his honour at a cost of £20, 2s. 3d.

There were a large number of Dutch prisoners of war quartered at Canterbury during the years 1652-3, the Government paying the city 6d. a day per head for their maintenance. In addition to this payment for their board and lodging, the medical attendance on these prisoners, many of them wounded and ill, was considerable. In September 1653 the mayor, John Lee, forwarded charges to the Council in London for attending to the invalided seamen of our own fleet, as well as the Dutchmen, who had been brought to Canterbury. Dr. John Golder charged £44, 5s. for attendance on forty-two English for fifty-nine days; and Nathaniel Roberts, the apothecary, for medicines supplied to forty-six English, as advised by Dr. Golder, £88, 18s. 7d. Another doctor charged £10, 10s. These accounts show that some at all events of the Dutch prisoners were kept in the cathedral. Peter de la Pier, surgeon of Canterbury, charged £8, 5s. 6d. 'for twelve Dutch prisoners sick in Canterbury Church. John Wren, surgeon, charged £29, 4s. 6d. for medicines for forty-two Dutch prisoners, from nine ships.'

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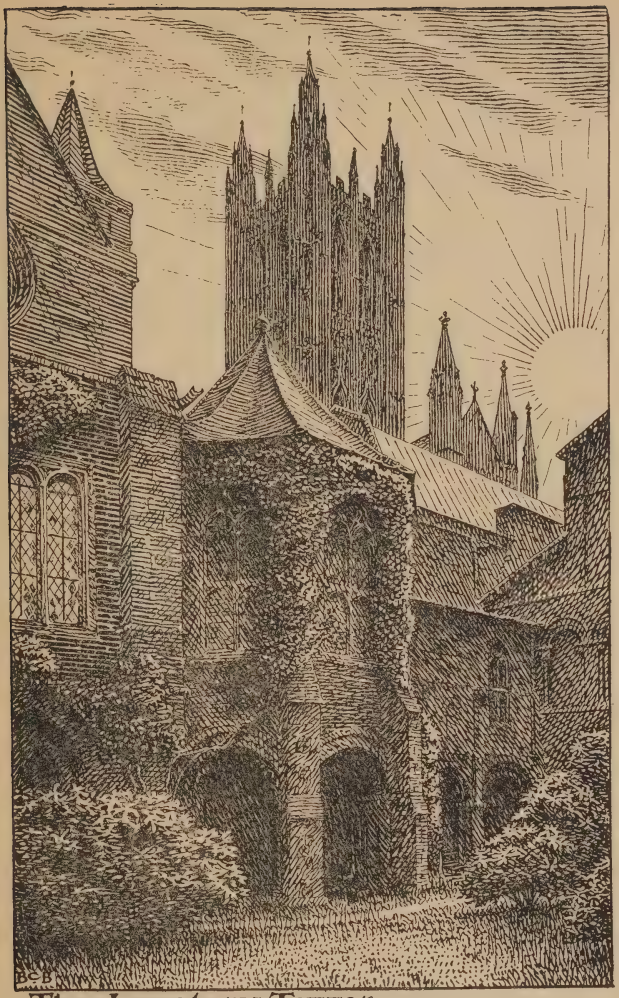
In 1656, 30s. was paid to 'two trumpeters and fower drums' at the proclamation of the Lord Protector; there was at the same time a lavish expenditure in wine, beer, and tobacco for the town officials and ringers, as well as for officers and soldiers.

Several Quakers created a disturbance during service in the cathedral, and interrupted the preacher, on the last Sunday in May, 1659. The Council ordered the mayor to proceed against them.

On May 25, 1660, Charles II. landed at Dover, and at once proceeded to Canterbury, where he was received with much acclaim and lavish display. He lodged for three nights at St. Augustine's, with his brothers the Dukes of York and Gloucester. This time there were six drummers and six trumpeters provided by the city, at a cost of £5, 10s., and in addition, the Earl of Winchelsey's trumpeters received 20s. 'for their services during the solemnitie.' Upwards of £50 was spent on wine and beer, and £200 on a gold cup presented to the king, the latter sum being raised by voluntary subscription. In the following year the king and queen-mother were again at Canterbury, when the visit cost the common purse of the city £53, 19s. 6d.

With the restoration of the monarchy came the restoration of the Church. On August 10, 1660, Dr. Turner entered upon the deanery of the outraged and devastated cathedral church; and, on September 13, William Juxon, translated from London to the primatial see, was elected by the revived chapter. The church had been so shame-



·The·Lavatory·Tower·

Canterbury

fully maltreated that £10,000 had to be spent on simply putting it into decent order and repair, between 1660 and 1662. Archbishop Juxon lived long enough to have his arms put on the present beautiful oak gates or doors that were hung beneath the south gatehouse in place of those destroyed by the Puritans.

The fickle corporation were ready enough, when Juxon first visited Canterbury, to regale his gentlemen with the curious mixture of lobsters, oysters, anchovies, wine, bread, beer, and tobacco, at a cost of £1, 7s. 6d. The accounts for 1661-2 also show that the city gates were again set up; this event was celebrated on the king's birthday, when a banquet cost the city £11, 4s. 8d.

The troubles with the Walloon congregations did not end with the Commonwealth. The schism amongst them widened at the Restoration, and both parties made strenuous efforts to secure the favour of the new powers, and to retain the use of the crypt. At last, in September 1662, the king informed the mayor and aldermen that 'the scandalous divisions existing for twenty years past among the Walloons, endangering the peace of the town,' must come to an end. He ordered that the section under Peter Jarmon, a minister with five hundred communicants, who were ready to freely submit to the use of the liturgy of the Church of England (in their own tongue), were to be sanctioned, but that the 'separatists' were to be stopped from holding any meetings. Nevertheless, disputes and wrangles and

attempts at compromise were continuous throughout the reign.

Canterbury under the Stuarts and Commonwealth

Gilbert Sheldon, who followed Juxon in the primacy, was translated from London on August 31, 1663, but he was never enthroned, and knew nothing of the city that gave him his title up to his death in 1676. Similarly he was elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford in 1667, but was never installed, or even visited the town after his appointment. During the primacy of this absentee prelate, Nonconformity increased much in certain parts of Kent, and particularly within the city of Canterbury.

An agent of the Government writing to the Council from Deal on August 28, 1668, stated that the Duke of York was expected at Dover next Monday to take the oath as Lord Warden, and that the whole country on the road was to be in arms. 'The city of Canterbury intends to show all its glory; the citizen soldiers are putting themselves in yellow coats and black trimming, and the officers in buff; the shopkeepers are also preparing to show the riches of that poor city.'

In the following year the mayor and commonalty purchased plate, intending to present it to the queen on her transit through Canterbury to Dover, and also prepared a banquet; but the queen hurried through at such a pace that the plate could not be presented, and it was returned at a loss of £10. In 1671 both king and queen passed through on their way to Dover, when the prudent corporation refrained from plate purchase, and contented them-

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selves with presenting a banquet of sweetmeats to the queen.

The brief-lived Declaration of Indulgence granted by Charles II. in 1672 to Nonconformists who registered their places of meeting and their ministers, and withdrawn under pressure of Parliament in February 1673, is of historical service as bringing to light the conditions of distribution of Nonconformity at that date. Seventeen Presbyterian ministers, twelve Congregationalists, and twenty-four Baptists took out licences in the county of Kent; Kent standing sixth in the number of such licences among all the English counties, and first amongst those of the Baptist denomination. Among dwellings licensed as meeting-houses were three in the city of Canterbury—one each for Presbyterian and Congregational worship, and one for the joint use of those denominations.

The city gave a great banquet to the Duke and Duchess of York, and to the Prince and Duchess of Modena, on November 24, 1673, at a cost of £21, 10s. 11d. The delicacies included candied eringo, green citron, candied lettuce, dried apricots and plums, rock candies, savoy ambers, and macaroons. Twelve quarts of canary were supplied at a cost of 24s., and nine gallons of claret and white wine at 36s. A banquet of sweetmeats was also provided for the Prince and Princess of Orange and the Duchess of York, when they lodged in the city in 1677, *en route* for Holland.

In the latter year Archbishop Sheldon died on

August 9, and was succeeded in the primacy by William Sancroft, Dean of St. Paul's. Sancroft, on the accession of William and Mary, refused to take the oath of allegiance, and was in consequence deprived of his authority and jurisdiction. He was succeeded in May 1691 by John Tillotson, who had been Dean of Canterbury from 1669 to 1689.

Canterbury under the Stuarts and Commonwealth

The proclaiming of the accession of William and Mary in 1689 formed the excuse for local rejoicings, when 6s. 4d. was spent on faggots for a bonfire. The soldiers had £5, but the cathedral ringers only 5s. The corporation drank wine, at the expense of the city, at the Red Lion to the extent of £9, 2s., and they ate five hams, a gammon of bacon, two dozen and a half of neats' tongues, two ribs, a loin, and a rump of beef, two dozen and two fowls, and 33s. worth of lobsters, oysters, and anchovies. In the following year the corporation received King William on his coming to the city, and presented him with a banquet of sweetmeats at a cost of £20. The king and queen both passed through the city in 1694, when a similar sum was expended in a like fashion.

In November 1694, Archbishop Tillotson died, and was succeeded by Thomas Tenison, who was enthroned in person at Canterbury, to the no small pleasure of the city, on May 16, 1695. He took more interest in the cathedral and city than had several of his predecessors; he left by will £40 to the poor of Canterbury, and gave in his lifetime the fine classical throne to the cathedral church, which

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has now been discarded and stands in the south-east transept; it cost £244, and was worked by Grinling Gibbons. There was a project for ejecting this handsome work even from the transept in 1903, and the work of removal and partial demolition was begun in order to make room for the fitting up of this part of the cathedral to serve as a chapel for the King's School. Timely protests, however, fortunately prevailed; the scaffolding and ropes were removed, and the preservation of this fine work, and its retention within the fabric for which it was designed, seem again assured.

## CHAPTER VI

### CANTERBURY OF THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES

THE eighteenth century opened somewhat disastrously. The spire of the north-west or Arundel steeple of the cathedral was so damaged by a storm in 1703, that it was taken down, and the crown of the old tower supplied with a parapet.

The mayor and aldermen paid a complimentary visit to the Duke of Marlborough in 1706, whilst he was in the city. We do not read of any visit from Queen Anne, but in 1709 the corporation spent £10 on a portrait of her Majesty, which was placed in the Guildhall.

The members of the Hanoverian dynasty were very rarely seen at Canterbury; the port of their

frequent embarkation was at Harwich, to the north of London. In 1714 a deputation from the mayor and commonalty proceeded to London to wait on George I., and assure him of their congratulations on his arrival in England.

Whatever can be said of the Archbishops of Canterbury who followed Tillotson in the eighteenth century, Wake, Potter, Herring, Hutton, Cornwallis, and Moore, no historian is ever likely to write of them as great or distinguished prelates, and their connection with Canterbury as their cathedral city was of the slightest description. Archbishop Cornwallis was an exceedingly wealthy and well-born prelate, and occasionally made no small display. Nevertheless, the somewhat farcical functions and absurd ceremonies of proxy enthronement and installation were gone through in his case on October 10, 1768, when Dr. Walwyn, the vice-dean, acted as his dummy, and was duly enthroned in the archiepiscopal seat, then placed in the stone chair behind the altar, and lastly installed in the dean's stall. Then, after the *Te Deum*, the whole chapter adjourned to the chapter-house, where the dummy archbishop seated in the dean's stall swore to maintain all the rights, privileges, and immunities of the church of Canterbury, and all the members of the chapter and choir came forward and 'severally promised canonical obedience to him (Dr. Walwyn) as their archbishop and diocesan.' In 1774 the archbishop did put in a personal appearance at Canterbury. He was met, three miles distant, by the dean and prebendaries and other members of

the church. 'A message,' says the local newspaper of the day, 'couched in the most respectful terms, was also conveyed to his Lordship by the junior Alderman and Sheriff, to inform his Grace, that the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council were at the Guildhall to receive and congratulate his Lordship on his visiting this city. His Lordship in the most genteel manner accepted the invitation, and about seven o'clock in the evening he was received by a very polite address. . . . An elegant and genteel dessert was provided, of which his Grace and the company were pleased to partake; and after staying about half an hour, his Lordship expressed his approbation of the very polite entertainment, and requested the favour of the Mayor and Aldermen to dine with him on Wednesday. . . . Great order was observed on his Lordship's arrival, and the whole of this respectful ceremony was conducted with the greatest propriety.'

Canterbury of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries

The freedom of the city was voted to William Pitt in 1784, and in 1792 Pitt, accompanied by the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Recorder of Canterbury, and the members for the county of Kent and the city, was sumptuously entertained at dinner in the Guildhall on the occasion of his taking the oath of a freeman of the city.

On September 17, 1798, George, Prince of Wales, passed through Canterbury on his way to his temporary place of residence at Charlton Place, near Barham Downs. The following day he was waited on by the mayor and corporation, and pre-

sented with the freedom of the city in a gold box.

John Moore, who held the deanery of Canterbury from 1771 to 1775, was in the latter year consecrated Bishop of Bangor. In 1783 he was translated to the archiepiscopal see. He was succeeded as primate in 1805 by Charles Manners-Sutton, grandson of the third Duke of Rutland, who ruled the see until 1828. Neither of these primates saw much of Canterbury. Archbishop Moore interested himself much in Sunday-schools, and Archbishop Manners-Sutton in promoting the schools of the National Society; but it was truthfully remarked of both these primates that they paid undue regard to the interests of their families, and that under them 'the sinecures and pluralities held by the highest clergy were worthy of the worst times of the mediæval period.'

In 1826 the last of the four annual fairs which used to be held within the precincts of Christ Church—namely, the Michaelmas fair, was discontinued; since that date it has been held in the Cattle Market.

With Archbishop Howley, translated from London to Canterbury in 1828, came the period of transition from the ancient princely state of the primates to the quieter and more strenuous exercise of the pastoral side of the great office, although the new archbishop still took a fairly prominent part in State ceremonials. Archbishop Manners-Sutton had prepared the way for a humbler form of life by the sale of Croydon Palace and the purchase of the retired manorial residence of Addington. Arch-

bishop Howley paid his first formal visit to the city that gave him his title in 1832. The usual preparations were made by the mayor and corporation to afford him a ceremonial reception, by inviting him to a banquet at the Guildhall. Popular feeling, however, was particularly strong in Canterbury in favour of Parliamentary reform at that critical period in our national history; and this feeling was intensified in Canterbury, as well as in various other boroughs, by the rule of a corporate body who were a mere co-opted oligarchy and in no true sense representative. William Howley, though a man of singular amiability in private life, had made a determined stand against reform in the House of Lords. He had led the opposition to the second reading of the Roman Catholic Relief Bill, and had unfortunately roused much general hostility to the Church of England by the determined character of his stand against the second reading of the Reform Bill in October 1831, when he pronounced it to be 'mischievous in its tendency, and extremely dangerous to the fabric of the constitution.' The consequence was that the large majority of the citizens of Canterbury, who most unfortunately for the last three centuries had but very rare opportunities of ever seeing their archbishops, determined to give Howley a hostile reception. This opposition took a most unseemly shape. No sooner had the archbishop's carriage entered the High Street with the intention of conveying him to the Guildhall, than 'he was greeted by a torrent of hissing and howling and

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groans, and these were followed by mud, rotten eggs, and stones which fell around the carriage as thick as blackberries. The few constables that were on duty at the time were entirely unable to hold the mob in check, or to put down the disturbance, and matters began to look very serious.' However, the outriders managed by aid of their horses and whips to clear a passage, the intention to enter the Guildhall was abandoned, and the carriage drove on to the deanery, where the archbishop spent the night. After this Canterbury naturally saw but very little of the primate, though he visited it again in December 1834, to attend the anniversary of the King's School in the chapter-house. He continued to reside at Lambeth in some state, crossing the water from time to time to do his best to stop by vote and voice such measures as the Irish Church Temporalities Bill, the Jewish Civil Disabilities Bill, and Lord John Russell's education scheme.

It was during Archbishop Howley's rule, in 1835, that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners were appointed to control the revenues of the church; and the days of sinecures and pluralities, with consequent non-residence, which had so disastrously affected the chapter of Canterbury in the first half of the nineteenth century, especially under Archbishop Manners-Sutton, came to an end. Future archbishops were deprived of the power of playing the prince by their annual income from church sources being limited to £15,000 a year.

Queen Victoria paid her first visit to Canterbury

with the Duchess of Kent, previous to her accession, on September 28, 1835, and she visited the city again in 1842. On February 6, 1840, Prince Albert landed at Dover, and the next day began his journey to London for the purpose of being married to Queen Victoria. On approaching Canterbury he was received on Barham Downs by a company of Light Dragoons who escorted him into the crowded city. The newspaper reports of the day supply such interesting items as that 'every window in the line was thronged with females,' and that 'His Serene Highness wore a blue cravat, and repeatedly bowed to the spectators.' The reformed town council had their first opportunity of presenting an address to royalty. At three o'clock the prince and suite attended evensong at the cathedral church, and at the conclusion of the service the future royal consort was conducted round the quire and church, where he paid particular attention to the tomb of the Black Prince, and the place of St. Thomas's murder. Then the carriages were re-entered, and progress was continued to London.

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On Archbishop Howley's death in 1848, the primacy was filled by the election of John Bird Sumner, translated from Chester. It was then one hundred and thirty-three years since an archbishop of Canterbury had been enthroned, otherwise than by the contemptible mockery of a ceremonial by proxy. But on Friday, May 4, 1848, the new archbishop was enthroned in person. He was known to be an earnest working prelate, a ripe scholar of the

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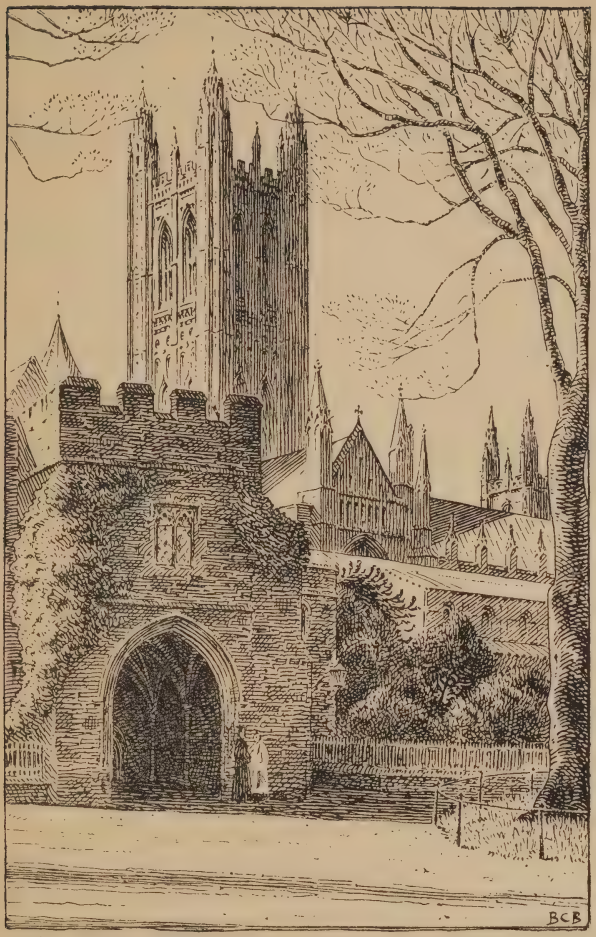
best type of the evangelical school, as his numerous volumes of divinity testified, and of opposite political convictions to the late primate, for he had voted for the removal of the Roman Catholic disabilities, and in favour of the Reform Bill of 1832. All this tended to arouse at Canterbury a most genuine anxiety to pay him honour and to attend the unwonted ceremony of a personal enthronisation. Though the day was cold and wet, the cathedral on this occasion was densely crowded from end to end. In the following month, Archbishop Sumner was again present in Canterbury for the consecration of the College of St. Augustine, the most momentous day for the development of the Church of England beyond the seas throughout the whole course of her missionary life. Archbishop Sumner was the means, through his faithful energy and humble life, in raising the spiritual tone of the diocese in a remarkable degree, in promoting the repair and due decency of the church fabrics, and in other ways furthering the cause of true religion throughout Kent; but with his diocesan work there is no particular concern in these pages, and it need only here be said that a new era of archbishops of Canterbury began with Sumner in 1848, and the high example he set was faithfully maintained by his successors in the second half of the nineteenth century.

If a new era in the discharge of archiepiscopal duties began with Sumner in 1848, it may with equal truth be emphatically stated that a new era in the discharge of decanal duties, after a time reflected in




The Dark Entry

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the chapter at large, began with the appointment of Henry Alford to the deanery of Canterbury in 1857. From that date successive deans, down to the death of Dean Farrar in 1902, have vied with each other in care for the fabric (however injudicious at times), in making the appointments of England's greatest cathedral more worthy of the House of God, in effecting improvements to replace the rabid iconoclasm of misguided Puritanism, and in reviving the cathedral's power for good as a centre of spiritual life. By no persons were the new dean's efforts more warmly appreciated than by the townsmen of Canterbury. They then began, after a long period of aloofness—after a time when those few who ever attended cathedral evensong were more amused than shocked at hearing one of the leading cathedral dignitaries rustling the local newspaper in his stall, as unabashed he read the news whilst divine service was being conducted—after an almost contemptuous indifference for the noble pile towering in their midst, to realise that this great church was theirs, a vast diocesan embodiment of the parish church that belonged to the parishioners. They began to take a vital interest in its services, to admire its architectural beauties, and to feel proud of its attractions, in a way unknown to Canterbury since the shrine of St. Thomas had been wrecked. For the beginning of this movement that continues to link town and chapter together, Dean Alford was responsible. 'In spite of considerable opposition from those who should have encouraged him, the new dean

popularised the cathedral services, and increased the accommodation for the general public. Instead of a few who used to attend the service on Sunday afternoons to hear the anthem, immense congregations now thronged the quire, presbytery, and even the side aisles to hear the eloquent dean preach. The sermon was an innovation the dean himself introduced, though with much difficulty, the majority of the chapter being not only content with the existing services, but decidedly opposed to a change that would afford them an opportunity of preaching an extra sermon; it was therefore conceded only upon the understanding that the dean himself should preach.'



Archbishop Sumner died in September 1862, and his successor, Charles Thomas Longley, was translated from York and enthroned at Canterbury on December 12. The most memorable event of his primacy was the gathering of the first Lambeth or Pan-Anglican Synod in 1867, when seventy-eight British, colonial, and foreign prelates gathered at Lambeth Palace. This brought about a great influx of distinguished visitors to the city of Canterbury, more particularly of the American bishops. In Lent 1868 a city mission was held at Canterbury, when the archbishop visited the deanery and took part in some of the services. It was during this week, namely, on March 8, that the first ordination that had been held in the cathedral church for fifty years took place—a striking testimony to the neglect of Canterbury by previous prelates of the century. On October 27 of the same year, Archbishop Longley died at Addington.

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His successor, Archibald Campbell Tait, was enthroned at Canterbury on February 3, 1869. His zeal as Bishop of London had won him hosts of friends, and Canterbury itself was eager to welcome him. Special trains brought a great gathering of visitors, and when the ceremony began, every part of the cathedral was crowded, save a narrow avenue for the procession up the nave. The procession of some three hundred surpliced clergy, of the cathedral chapter, and of the archbishop with attendant bishops and officials fully robed, undoubtedly constituted the most considerable ecclesiastical display made within the minster since Reformation days.

Henry Alford, the eminent scholar, still affectionately remembered in Canterbury as 'The Good Dean,' died in January 1871, and it is no exaggeration to say that a wave of general sorrow passed over the city, which was long in subsiding. Under his guidance 'the cathedral and precincts had undergone a complete transformation; but this was not all the change effected. The dull formality of the services, and much of the exclusiveness peculiar to the dwellers within the precincts, had disappeared. The services were now attractive and popular, whilst the dean's constant efforts to promote kindly intercourse amongst different classes of society, broke down the barrier which had hitherto separated his predecessors from the outside public; and as a leading citizen the dean himself created an influence for good, which had never before been thought possible.'

Canterbury of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries

Dean Alford's successor, appointed within a month of his decease, was Dr. R. Payne-Smith. In the following year Canterbury was filled with consternation at the prospect of the destruction of the cathedral by fire. On September 3, 1872, just after mattins, gusts of smoke were noticed proceeding from the roof over Trinity Chapel. Bell Harry was rung, and the affrighted citizens saw flames, as well as dense clouds of smoke that nearly hid the Angel Steeple from view, bursting through the roof over the centre of the quire and the south-east transept. At that time there was no full water-supply within the precincts, great lengths of hose were required to reach the nearest hydrant, and notwithstanding all exertions, nearly ninety minutes went by ere a drop of water reached the burning timbers. Meanwhile the entire roof eastward of the chapels of St. Andrew and St. Anselm was consumed. The molten lead began to stream down into the interior of the building; the trophies over the Black Prince's tomb and the altar and altar rails were removed; and preparations were made for checking the progress of the flames by cutting a great gap in the quire roof. But the water began to gain the mastery, and at two o'clock a ringing cheer from the firemen and their military assistants told the good news that the church was saved. The main damage was confined to the actual roof, for the interior had been for the most part protected by the stone vaultings below the timbers. The escape of the whole building was, however, marvellous, for had the fire continued

unchecked but a little longer, the percolations of the melted lead through cracks of the vaulting would have brought the stone crown of the ceiling down with a rush, the great extent of the quire fittings would have caught the blaze, and the whole fabric would have shortly become a blackened mass of ruins. It is only those who, like the writer of these pages, were on the spot very shortly after the fire was conquered, and who were permitted to ascend to the roofs and see the huge mass of charcoaled beams and *débris*, that can realise how dreadful was the jeopardy of those few hours. The efforts to restore order in the quire were so prompt and considerable, that evensong was sung the same afternoon at four, instead of at the usual hour of three. A great congregation had gathered, and seldom have the walls of Canterbury Cathedral re-echoed with a more heartily sung *Te Deum* than that which was chanted as an act of solemn thanksgiving at the conclusion of the service. It was found that the cause of the disaster was the upset of a repairing plumber's pot of burning charcoal.

On the death of Archbishop Tait, towards the close of 1882, the primacy was accepted by Edward White Benson, then Bishop of Truro, by far the greatest successor to St. Augustine since the days of Laud. He was enthroned at Canterbury on March 29, 1883, in the presence of a vast congregation. He arrived at Canterbury in the afternoon of the previous day, and was received by the mayor and dean, with a guard of honour of Kent Rifle Volunteers and Kent Yeomanry. Driving to the Guildhall, after a greet-

ing from the old but unmelodious Wardmote horn, an address was presented by the corporation. In his reply, the archbishop, with a happy adroitness of courteous speech that seldom failed him, noticing that Cornish choughs formed part of the city arms and were represented in the jewel pendant from the mayoral chain, said: 'As a Cornishman I claim the same privilege as the three Cornish choughs to come and live here, where they have lived, under the roof of your Guildhall and close to the heart of your mayor. You have admitted three, and I hope you will admit a fourth.'

Canterbury of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries

At the enthronement on the following day the Duke of Edinburgh was present, representing the Queen, together with the representative laity of the whole county of Kent, and a large majority of the bishops. Tait's enthronement procession had been the finest ecclesiastical demonstration since the Reformation, but it was far surpassed by that of Benson. First in the procession came the corporation of the city of Canterbury, then the clergy of the diocese, the rural deans, the cathedral body and the bishops; they were followed by the archbishop walking between dean and vice-dean, with chaplains and officials, and having his train borne by his son Robert Hugh Benson, then a boy of ten, and by a King's Scholar of Canterbury, vested in surplices and purple cassocks. The *Times* on this occasion thus wrote of the archbishop's appearance at the great west doors: 'With neither affected humility nor any manifestation of unbecoming pride, but as one

deeply impressed with the consciousness of the heavy responsibilities devolving on him, he moved with firm steps and a certain stateliness not unbecoming one called to his high office.'

The story of Benson's remarkable primacy, that so well fulfilled the anticipations formed at its beginning by his host of earnest friends, belongs to the diocese and the Church at large rather than to Canterbury. Suffice it here to say, that with all his love for his quiet home at Addington, the project of a residence at Canterbury was often before his mind; and though he recognised its importance, and expressed it on one occasion with emphasis to the present writer, other matters that seemed more pressing at the time prevented his taking any decided steps for its realisation.

Of the touchingly beautiful end to Archbishop Benson's fragrant and beautiful life, it is hardly possible even now to write, though seven years after the event, without a catch in the breath. In October 1896 he paid his first visit to Hawarden on his return from Ireland. On Sunday, October 11, he attended early celebration at the beautiful parish church of Hawarden. Later in the morning, when present at mattins as one of the congregation, as he knelt for the confession his head sank upon his book, and in a few moments his spirit passed away without a pang. To Mrs. Benson, Mr. Gladstone—whose own end, beautiful and pathetic in its way, was to be such a contrast—said, 'It was a soldier's death, a noble end to a noble life.' Ten years before the archbishop

had written in his diary—'It will be very easy for my Lord to give me the signal when my work is done.'

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On October 14, in a dark, drizzling evening, the coffin reached Canterbury, where it was met by the dean and canons and taken through the crowded streets, and so up the dimly lighted nave of Christ Church to Becket's Crown at the east, the quire softly singing 'For ever with the Lord.' Through that night, and the following day and night, lights burnt around the coffin, and loving friends kept kneeling watch; whilst on it lay but two white floral tributes so suggestive of a sovereign's and a people's love—a wreath from Queen Victoria, and a cross from Katherine Gladstone. After the early celebration on Friday, October 16, the body was moved to the Martyrdom, and thence borne through the cloister walls to the west front of the cathedral. Hence it was carried through gusts of wind and rain, amid the muffled music of the regimental escort, and the subdued peals of the organ, into the nave. The great procession was headed by bedesmen and four hundred of the diocesan clergy, followed by the mayor and corporation, divers officials, many deans and other church dignitaries, members of the two Houses of Parliament, the Lord-Lieutenant of the county, and thirty-two bishops of the English Church. The body with the six pall-bearers, all of them representative men of eminence and mark, was followed by the Duke of York as representing the Queen, by other representatives of the whole of the royal family, by the family of the late archbishop, and by a long con-

course of private mourners. When all was over and the body placed in its last resting-place beneath the north-west tower, the quire broke forth, without accompaniment, in the sweet strains of 'Thine for ever, God of Love'; it was the last hymn in which Edward White Benson had joined on earth at the early celebration at Hawarden, barely two hours before his death. His was the first interment of an Archbishop of Canterbury in his own cathedral since the burial of Cardinal Pole.

To Archbishop Benson succeeded Frederick Temple, whose ruggedness of demeanour offered the most striking contrast to the almost courtly grace of Edward White Benson. But the honest uprightness of the new archbishop, and his sterling integrity, soon won him the affectionate appreciation of the citizens of Canterbury; whilst his residence amongst them at the close of his life, his homely ways, and genuine interest in the town life as apart from that of the precincts, made them regard him as their own bishop in a way that had not perhaps been realised with any of his predecessors, since the days before the Norman Lanfranc's rule. The enthronement took place on January 8, 1897; when Dean Farrar, in welcoming the new primate, used admirably chosen words that were amply fulfilled, and that justified the appointment of an aged bishop, past his seventy-sixth birthday, and sadly infirm of sight. 'My Lord Archbishop,' said the dean, 'we know from your past that in your future you will always show to the end of your career the same uncorruptible con-

scientiousness and unswerving courage, refusing always to answer the multitudes, whether of the clergy or of the laity, according to their idols; that you will, like a strong man relying on the grace of God, do the thing that is right, and speak the truth from your heart.'

Canterbury of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries

Archbishop Temple had a natural aversion to pomp and display, coupled with an anxiety to be near the centre of his work. No sooner had he accepted the primacy than he set about arrangements for the sale of Addington, and for carrying out his predecessor's desire to have a livable house or palace at Canterbury. The site of the former archbishop's palace to the immediate north-west of the cathedral, which had been rebuilt in part by Archbishop Parker to afford accommodation for State entertainments, and had since his days gone much to ruin, was taken in hand. After an expenditure of nearly £20,000, the palace was most judiciously restored and rebuilt by Mr. Caröe, the cathedral architect, on practical lines. The somewhat rambling block of buildings has no particularly fine or stately appearance; but it is comely, and in course of time will look picturesque. It presents just the sort of look that best befits the high ideal of what the chief house of the head of England's Church should be at the dawn of the twentieth century—commodious, convenient, and closely contiguous to the Great Minster Church with which the dawn, the rise, the apparent decay, and the present stage of wonderful development of the ancient faith of all English-speaking peoples is so deeply identified.

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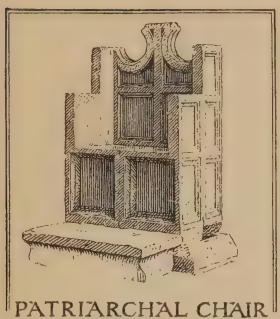
It was a great joy to Archbishop Temple to live to see this Canterbury home for his successors duly completed. His end too, like that of his predecessor, had its own dramatic conclusion. It seemed to some who, like the present writer, were present in the sanctuary of Westminster on August 9, 1902, that the archbishop would pass away almost in the act of crowning or doing homage to Edward VII.; but his end came somewhat later, when the hand of death touched him in the act of defending the recent Education Act in the House of Lords with characteristic and conscientious vigour.

Frederic William Farrar, a worthy successor of Henry Alford in all his intense interest in the city as well as the cathedral life of Canterbury, was appointed to the deanery only the year before the enthronement of Archbishop Temple, and he did not long survive him. Their graves are side by side in the cloister garth, overshadowed by the great cathedral church, to which both, in their different degrees and after their respective temperaments, were so strongly attached.

Old Newingate

## CHAPTER VII

### THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH



PATRIARCHAL CHAIR
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REFERENCE has already been made to the early history of the successive cathedral structures erected on this site. We have now only to deal succinctly with the present building. The process of substituting finer work for the ruder Christian structures of the Anglo-Saxons was generally adopted throughout England, soon after the Norman conquest. In the case of Canterbury this process was hastened and accomplished after a thorough fashion by the devastating fire of 1067. Of Lanfranc's church, begun in 1070 and finished in 1077, there is nothing now left save a few patches of masonry. The walls of the nave stand on the old Norman foundations; but it is a mistake to think, as some have believed and asserted, that the present walls to a height of three

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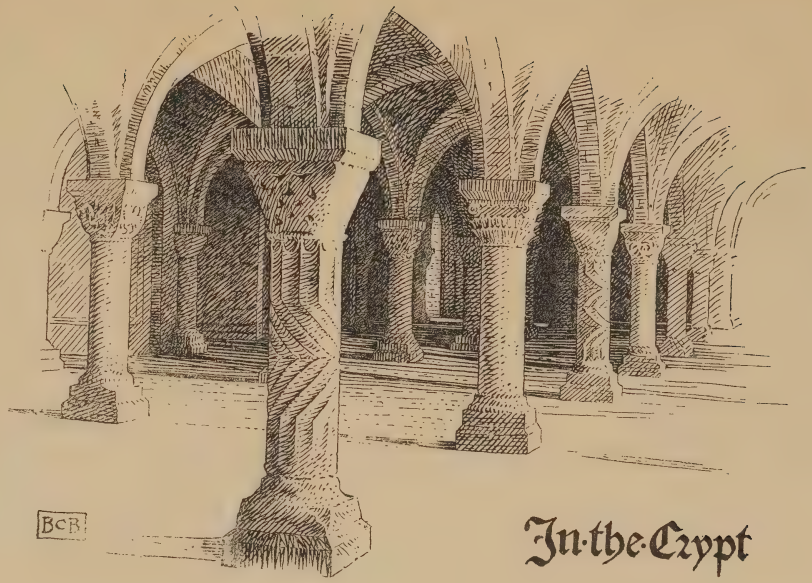
or four feet are of Lanfranc's construction. The one place where remains of the first Norman church can undoubtedly be seen is in the Martyrdom transept, to the left of the steps that ascend from the nave to the quire. There the rough working of the lower stones is in distinct contrast to the smoother work above, and at once shows to the trained eye the use of the small axe with which the Norman mason dressed the stones, as opposed to the chisel and mallet of later days. The north-west tower of the nave was Lanfranc's work, and stood until its unhappy demolition in 1834.

The quire of Lanfranc's church was very short, and it was enlarged and given eastern transepts, with crypt and various chapels, by Anselm, Ernulf, and Conrad, between 1096 and 1114. To this period the greater part of the present crypt, the oldest integral portion of the present church, belongs. In its west wall remains of older work have been discovered, said by some—but the statement requires to be accepted with hesitation—to pertain to the old Saxon church destroyed in 1067. Two passages, north and south, give access to Ernulf's under church or crypt. It is usually entered from the south transept, this passage being opened during the important alterations of the crypt in 1896, when the unsightly brick disfigurements of the Walloon meeting-house were cleared away, and the whole crypt thrown open. It now presents to view as fine a Norman crypt as any that are extant; the capitals of the pillars, which are singularly varied, well repay the closest study by




In the Crypt

CRYPT CAPITAL

the architectural student. The most remarkable capitals and columns are those of the chapels of St. Gabriel on the south-east, and of the Holy Innocents on the north-east. The latter chapel has been recently well fitted with altar and seats for present occasional use. The crypt, so far as the low sweep of pillars set in a semicircle at the east, is the work of Ernulf. The easternmost portion beyond Ernulf's work dates from 1180, and was accomplished by English William. Here, till its removal to the upper shrine in 1220, rested the body of St. Thomas.

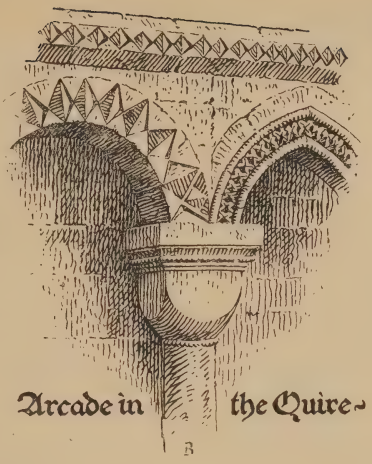
This brief account of the crypt had better be completed before a return is made to the upper church.

The whole crypt was dedicated in honour of the Virgin Mother, and in the centre stood her altar and chapel. 'Our Lady of the Undercroft' was one of the most honoured places in the whole cathedral, and was usually visited by royalty when at Canterbury, as we have already seen. When Erasmus visited the church, he was much struck with the wealth and magnificence displayed in this small chapel; he states that he 'never saw anything more loaded with riches,' and describes it as 'a more than royal spectacle.' A few traces of the fine decoration of the roof still remain. The beautiful stone parclose or screen by which the altar of Our Lady of the Undercroft is surrounded is of fourteenth-century date, and most likely dates from the time of the Black Prince's marriage. Attention should be given to the rare and beautiful remains of early roof-painting in St. Gabriel's chapel; to the lightness of the work of the east crypt, which affords an early instance of pointed arches; to the ancient well recently discovered, whence probably was obtained the water for filling the tiny bottles of the Canterbury pilgrims; and to the tombs of the Countess of Atholl (1292), Lady Mohun (*c.* 1395), and Cardinal Morton (1395). The double chantry chapel erected here on the south side of the crypt by the Black Prince, in commemoration of his marriage in 1363, has beautiful groined vaulting, is of peculiar architectural value, and affords a striking contrast to the heavier work of the Norman crypt out of which it opens. Since 1896 it has been assigned for the use

of the descendants of the Netherlands Protestants, who were permitted to worship in the under church in Elizabethan days, and whose presence at Canterbury as weavers used to add to the commercial prosperity of the city. It is still often asserted that these Walloons carried on their weaving operations in the crypt; but their latest historian, Mr. F. W. Cross, honorary librarian of the cathedral, in his elaborate work for the Huguenot Society, printed in 1898, says: 'The statement is utterly improbable, and there is not a scrap of evidence to support it in the contemporary records of their own church, of the cathedral, or of the city.' The walls show no sign whatever of any fixture for industrial purposes; and during the recent removal of earth that had accumulated on the floors, not a single fragment of any tool or utensil used in weaving came to light. After this, it is to be hoped that this silly but oft-repeated tale will gradually die a natural death; but reiterated fictions are hard to kill. At the same time, it is of no use for reverent church-folk of the present day to hold up their hands in horror at the idea of such a use of a consecrated place; for the church authorities allowed some of the under-church to be used for a far worse purpose than a wholesome trade. The eastern portion of the crypt was walled off and used by the First Prebendary as a wine-cellar, even in the last century.

Returning to the upper church, it has to be recollected that Conrad's beautiful quire perished in the fire of 1174. In the next year William of Sens

began the new work, and followed it up until his serious accident in 1178; the exact amount of work done each year by the French William, and afterwards by the English William up to 1184, is chronicled with much particularity by the monk Gervase. Professor Willis, in his incomparable architectural history of this cathedral, issued in 1845, has shown how difficult it is, notwithstanding Gervase's statements, to accurately separate the work of the two Williams in the way that is sometimes rashly attempted; especially as it is obvious that William the second must in the main have followed the plans already prepared by his predecessor. It will be better, on this point, to quote one or two sentences of Willis rather than to paraphrase them in changed language: 'The creation of the new Trinity Chapel, or chapel of Becket, which took place wholly under the direction of the Englishman, must have been intended from the beginning; for the contrivance of narrowing the central alley of the choir, for the double purpose of avoiding the old towers



Arcade in the Quire.

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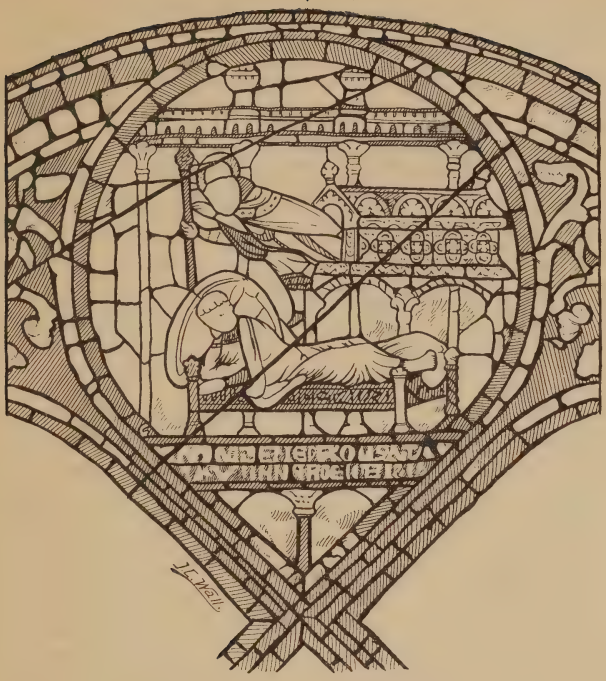
and of adjusting the width to agree with that of the ancient chapel of the Trinity, was due to the French artist, seeing that the inclosed part of the choir (namely, the piers ix, x, xi) was carried up to the clerestory before his fall. Whether we are to attribute to him the lofty elevation of the pavement of the new chapel, by which also so handsome a crypt is obtained below, must remain doubtful. The bases of his columns, as well as those of the shafts against the wall, are hidden and smothered by the platform at the top of these steps, and by the side steps that lead to Becket's chapel. This looks like an evidence of a change of plan, and induces me to believe that the lofty crypt below may be considered as the unfettered composition of the English architect. Its styles, its detail are wholly different from those of William of Sens. The work, from its position and office, is of a massive and bold character, but its unusual loftiness prevents it from assuming the character of a crypt.'

The eastern transepts had been more seriously damaged by the fire than the side aisles of the quire, where a good deal of Ernulf's work can be detected, and they were consequently more completely reconstructed. The Englishman finished the transepts in 1179, almost immediately after the departure of the Frenchman, the last work being the eastern semicircular chapels with their shafts of Purbeck marble. The great beauty of these transepts is the double range of triforia arcades; but it must be remembered in comparing this work with other finer architectural

achievements towards the end of the twelfth century, that the retention of some of the old Norman portions cramped and fettered the free development of the plan in the transepts, as well as in the general work of the quire. The site of the shrine, with the circular space at the further end for the altar of the Trinity Chapel, is the work of 1179 to 1184; its design as well as execution are probably wholly due to the English William. The circular chapel, where the patriarchal chair now stands, is persistently called in modern parlance the Corona, or Becket's Crown, which was in reality the name of the relic of the crown of the martyr's head fixed to a jewelled bust, which was kept in that chapel to the right of the altar. The new chapel was on the site of the older Trinity Chapel for which St. Thomas had a particular reverence, and where he celebrated his first Mass. The shrine occupied the centre of the upper platform. It is easy to note the limits of the railed space surrounding the shrine from the depression round it, worn by the knees of many generations of pilgrims. Two of the double row of pillars surrounding this chapel are of a rich-toned African marble, as well as two half-pillars on the east. This marble was part of a gift of Pope Alexander III. in honour of the canonisation of St. Thomas, and came from a temple at Carthage; a considerable portion of the gift is said to have been lost or broken in transit. There are marble pillars now to be seen at Marsala, in Sicily, intended for Canterbury Cathedral, but which were there utilised. To the immediate west of the shrine stood a small altar, and

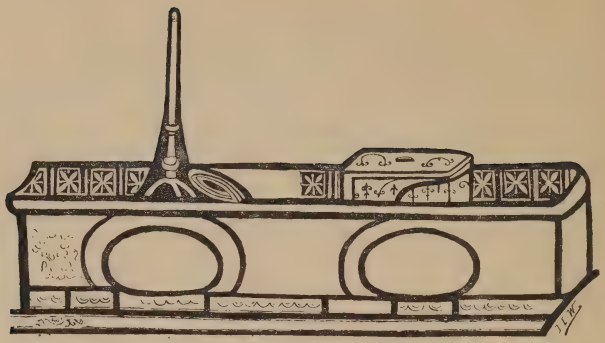
to the west of that there still remains a beautiful piece of Italian marble mosaic pavement. The pavement is surrounded by roundles containing lively representations of the signs of the Zodiac, and symbols of virtues and vices. It reminds us of the Italian mosaic work round the shrine of the Confessor at Westminster Abbey, and is of the style called *Opus Alexandrinum*—a name taken from Alexander Severus, and not from the town of Alexandria, whence the showman tells you it came at the time of the Crusades!

It is a strange fact, but eminently satisfactory, that three of the rich thirteenth-century glass windows around the Trinity Chapel escaped destruction at the hands of Dick Culmer and his comrades, when rioting with unholy glee over the crashing of the 'Popish' windows in other parts of the cathedral. Possibly the subjects were not sufficiently large or well defined to be understood by their coarse senses. Happily for the cause of art as well as of hagiology, the windows depicting scenes relative to the miracles performed at the tomb of St. Thomas have survived in good preservation to the present day. 'They remain,' says the official guide to the cathedral, 'one of the most priceless treasures of early glass painting in England, or indeed in Europe.' In several instances these glass pictures give representations of the first resting-place of the saint's body in the crypt; the tomb is represented as a flat table-tomb of stone with two oval openings in the sides (p. 170). In one case, however, the shrine of 1220 is represented, and the



ST. THOMAS APPEARS TO BENEDICT

saint is shown leaning from his coffin to appear in a vision to his historian Benedict. The figures in the medallion pictures are singularly graceful and expressive, notwithstanding their minute proportions. One of the most effective groups in the window towards the east on the north side of the shrine, depicts the



TOMB OF ST. THOMAS IN THE CRYPT

quaint story of a succession of miracles wrought in the family of a knight, Jordan Fitzeisult. His son, a boy of ten, died, and the father, who had been an intimate friend of St. Thomas's, resolved to endeavour to restore his son's life with water mingled with the saint's blood. At the third draught the boy opened his eyes and said, 'Why do you weep, father? Why are you crying, lady? The blessed martyr Thomas has restored me to you.' At eventide he sat up, ate, talked, and was restored. But Jordan, in his joy, forgot the vow, in spite of warning, that he had made of offering four pieces of silver at the martyr's shrine before Mid-Lent. Consequently the household was stricken with sickness, and the eldest son dies. Eventually the knight and his lady carry out the vow and are rewarded. The details of this story can all be traced in the window. A further example of these legends may be cited, which is represented in two

medallions of the lower part of the western window. In the one is an unhappy creature, with his hands fastened behind his back and being belaboured with sticks; it is labelled *Amens accedit*, 'he comes a madman.' The tale is completed in the next medallion, where the madman, now in his right mind, kneels in thanksgiving, with the cords and sticks in fragments by his side; this medallion is labelled *Sanus recedit*, 'he departs cured.'

The chief point of interest in the Trinity Chapel, next to the suggestive vacant space once occupied by the shrine, is the tomb of the Black Prince, which is of the highest value for its artistic excellence, altogether apart from the chivalrous character of him whom it commemorates. The greatest interest, however, in connection with this tomb to the immediate south of the shrine centres in the Prince's personal achievements, which hang on a beam above the tomb—the helm with crest, jupon or surcoat, gauntlets, shield, and sword-sheath, with part of a belt attached. These priceless remains (headpiece, Chapter III.) were permitted to be exhibited at the Society of Antiquaries in May 1894, the first time that they had ever left their resting-place for five centuries, save for a very brief period during the fire of 1872. These relics were described and illustrated in detail by Mr. St. John Hope in the seventh volume of *Vetusta Monumenta*. There is probably no one else living, save the writer of these pages, who can say that he has twice had the opportunity of the closest personal examination of these

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relics, even to the trying on of the helmet—once at the time of the fire of 1872, when they were temporarily removed to another part of the cathedral, and once when they were at Burlington House. The earliest published notice of these remains is in Bolton's *Elements of Armories*, printed in 1610.

The iron helm is fourteen inches high, and weighs 7 lbs. 2 oz. It is formed of a front and back piece riveted to each other and to a conical top piece of much thicker metal than the sides. The front part is pierced with eighty-eight *spiranda*, or tiny breathing-holes. Some small fragments of the leather lining remain. The crest of a leopard, now in a somewhat dilapidated and bedraggled condition, is made of leather throughout curiously stamped. The tongue and ears and the crown that encircled the head are lost. The cap of maintenance, on which the leopard stands, is also of leather.

'The jupon or coat-of-arms, in its present condition, gives only,' says Mr. Hope, 'a faint idea of its original splendour. When perfect it was a closely fitting jacket or coat, with short sleeves, made to lace up behind. The front and back were each formed of two blue and two red pieces of velvet, arranged quarterly, and each sleeve of a red and blue piece. These were laid upon a linen or canvas foundation with an intermediate layer of wool, and the whole quilted together, the front and back quarters in eight vertical strips, those of the sleeves in seven strips each. The seams were covered with gold cord. The

golden lions and fleurs-de-lis forming the charges were separately embroidered upon velvet with gold thread, and then cut out and sewn down upon their proper quarters, the fleurs-de-lis on the blue, the lions on the red.' The jupon is now in an extremely fragile condition, and has faded away to a uniform brown colour. About sixty years ago it was glued down to a leather lining, to prevent it quite falling to pieces; it has lost a lower fringe or border.

The gauntlets are of gilt latten, and closely resemble those of the effigy below. On the body of each gauntlet is a very small circular plate, with a lion's face in low relief, and on each knuckle used to be riveted the figure of a small lion. One of these is in possession of the Dean and Chapter. The actual gloves of buff leather are perfect.

The remains of the sword-sheath are of leather, covering some decayed fragments of a thin wooden sheath, ornamented with gilt latten studs. About a foot of the sword-belt of thick linen cloth with a latten buckle remains. Attached to it is a chain of five long iron links of ancient date, doubtless made for the purpose of hanging up the sword and sheath.

Dean Stanley speaks of 'the empty scabbard of the sword wielded perchance at his three great battles, and which Oliver Cromwell, it is said, carried away.' But experts all agree that such a sheath could never have held a real fighting sword, and Cromwell was the last man to carry off a sword made for mere display. Moreover, the sword once exhibited at

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Manchester as the one stolen by the Protector, was curved like a scimitar, and could never have gone into the suspended sheath.

The shield, which measures $28\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length by $23\frac{1}{4}$ inches across the top, is made of light wood covered with canvas and leather, to which were attached the embossed leather quarterings of lions and fleurs-de-lis. The fields were painted blue and red alternately, whilst the charges were gilded. The back of the shield is covered only with canvas, and has been painted green. The pavis or target that used also to hang over the tomb, and which was described and illustrated by Bolton in 1610, has long ago been lost. A dagger has also been lost.

Popular tradition has it that these achievements were the actual ones worn by the Prince at the battle of Cressy. Almost every one who sees them hanging there would like to believe this story, or, at all events, that they were worn or used by the Black Prince at some time in his life, even if it were only on some state occasion. Experts, however, are united in agreeing that neither helm nor gauntlets were ever made for use in war; whilst the balance of opinion is, alas! in favour of the whole of the achievements having been made in imitation of those really used *pur la guerre* for the representation of the deceased in the funeral procession, and that therefore they were never even seen by the Black Prince. Nevertheless, though Cressy or any genuine battle is out of the question, the belief that they were at all events worn and used by the hero at court need not

perforce be abandoned; for, after a lapse of five centuries, it is impossible to establish the contrary.

The monument itself stands between the two first pillars of the Trinity Chapel, close to the shrine on the south side. The recumbent effigy is of latten gilt, beautifully proportioned, and in excellent repair. The details afford a perfect realisation of the armour of the day. Upon the tomb on which it rests are ranged coats of arms on latten shields, and a French epitaph of his own choice, expressive of somewhat pagan sentiments; Dean Stanley identified these nine lines as having been borrowed, with a few slight variations, from an anonymous French translation of the *Chronicalis Disciplina* of Petrus Alphonsus, composed between the years 1106 and 1110. Over the tomb is a wooden tester with embattled cornice, on the under surface of which is painted the figure of the Holy Trinity with the evangelistic symbols at the four corners. Round the tomb are heavy rails of wrought iron, with thicker rails at the angles and in the centre of the sides, that rise a foot or more above the others and have embattled heads, to bear the six great tapers that burnt here at the Prince's successive obits.

On the opposite side of the Trinity Chapel is the monument of Henry IV. and of his second wife Joan of Navarre, erected in accordance with the king's will after his death in 1413. The canopy over these well-executed effigies is elaborate, and yet not over enriched, whilst the adjacent chantry to accommodate 'twey prestis for to sing and pray for my

soul,' on the opposite side of the aisle, affords the most beautiful example known of fan vaulting on a small scale; every detail of the stonework of this charming little chapel is most pleasing and well repays close study.

East of the Black Prince's tomb is that of Archbishop Courtenay (1396). Still further to the east is the somewhat unsightly brick structure covering the remains of Cardinal Coligny, brother of Admiral Coligny who fell in the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day. The cardinal, sharing to some extent in his brother's Huguenot principles, fled from France in 1568. On his death his coffin was placed here and bricked round, awaiting removal to France or to some other suitable place. It is passing strange that his fellow-religionists, who have worshipped below this body from the very time of his death, have suffered this mean, uninscribed brickwork to form his only covering. The kneeling figure on the opposite side to the cardinal's grave is that of Dean Wotton, the first head of the Cathedral Chapter as organised by Henry VIII.

In the south wall of the Trinity Chapel is a tomb long known in error as that of Archbishop Theobald. When opened a few years ago the style of the archiepiscopal vestments and pastoral staff that it contained made it almost certain that it is the tomb of Archbishop Walter, the faithful chancellor who raised the ransom for Richard I. These vestments and staff, spoiled from the tomb with more than questionable taste in 1893 to be exhibited and

discoursed upon at Burlington House, were then with far worse taste placed in lockers in Henry IV.'s chapel, instead of being restored to the rifled grave.

At the extreme east end of the church is the circular space where stood the altar of the Trinity Chapel. Here on the south side is the plain tomb of Cardinal Pole (1558). But the great feature of interest in the centre is the great dignified stone chair, formed of three pieces of Purbeck marble, usually known as St. Augustine's Chair, wherein, from time immemorial, successive Archbishops of Canterbury have been enthroned (headpiece of this chapter). It is also occasionally called Ethelbert's Chair; for an old tradition has it that it was not merely a chair occupied by St. Augustine, but that it was the throne on which the old kings of Kent were crowned, and that it was given by Ethelbert on his conversion to St. Augustine. In their endeavour to quite upset the old story, certain critics have gone too far, and have asserted that from its age, material, and style, the chair cannot have an earlier date than the close of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century; it is usual now to say that it was probably constructed for the ceremony of the Translation of St. Thomas in 1220. On the other hand, it is difficult to imagine for what possible purpose such a chair would be required at the grand functions of the Translation, which were chiefly of a processional character. It should, too, be remembered that the monk Eadmer, writing of the Saxon church burnt down in 1067, wherein he himself had been a singer,

describes 'the pontifical chair constructed with handsome workmanship and of large stones and cement,' and the exact position that it then occupied. Critics quite as good as the ones who see in this chair only early thirteenth-century work, believe it to be probably much earlier; and at all events, so careful an observer as Mr. Micklethwaite sees nothing impossible in supposing that it may date back to the days of St. Augustine. This ancient chair has often been shifted, and it is wonderful that it has not been more damaged during these successive processes. Into the vexed question as to its proper or best position in the changed condition of the cathedral's fittings, it is not proposed to enter; suffice it to say that the placing of it where it now stands is clearly wrong, though it may perchance be convenient.

Returning to the south quire transept, the beautifully finished work of the piscinas and credence tables of the sides of the altars in the two apses should be noted. The admiration extended to these details, which are so well within eyesight, will probably lead the intelligent visitor, even if quite unversed in architectural niceties, to appreciate further delicate treatment that reveals itself on all sides as the result of patient study. Almost exactly similar delicacy of work may also be noted in the like pair of apses in the north quire transept. The altar of St. John the Evangelist in the apse of the south quire transept has recently (1903) been replaced, with an excellent modern reredos; the whole transept was at the same time fitted up for the use of the King's School. Here

stands, against the south wall, the imposing classical throne, of Grinling Gibbons work, so unhappily ejected from its rightful place in the quire. Under the great south window, filled with glass in memory of Dean Alford, lies Archbishop Winchelsea.

Proceeding eastward, the chapel of St. Anselm is gained. The chapel was originally dedicated to Sts. Peter and Paul; and, behind a recently removed buttress, a remarkably well-finished and finely executed painting of St. Paul casting off the viper was uncovered. This is by far the finest bit of English wall painting of early thirteenth-century date now extant. After the burial here of St. Anselm the chapel became known by his name. Under the large south window lies Archbishop Bradwardine, the short-lived primate who died of the Black Death. This five-light window demands particular attention both in the interior and from the exterior. Willis writes of it that 'it is on account of its date, as well as for its beauty, a most valuable example.' It is known to have been inserted in the earlier work by Prior Eastry in 1336; and more than one well-qualified architectural critic has pronounced it to be the most beautiful window of the first half of the fourteenth century in the whole of England. Its exact cost is known—namely, £42, 17s. 2d.; the masons and masons' labourers were paid £21, 17s. 9d.; the Caen stone cost £5; the glass and glazier's labour £6, 13s. 4d.; and the iron and smith's labour £7, 9s. 4d. The remainder was spent in breaking down the wall for the reception of the new window, and in lime for

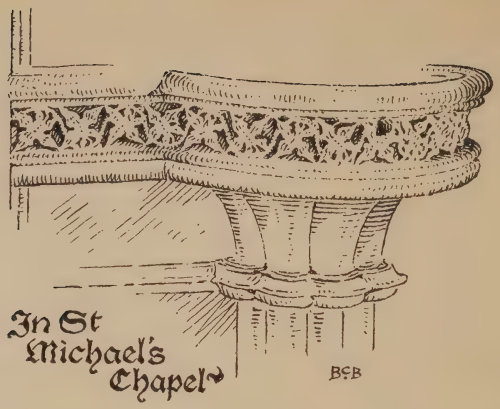
the mortar. In the upper tracery of this window the outline of two large ivy-leaves—a unique feature in tracery—can be readily noticed from the outside. As the chapel is entered through the fine gates of old wrought-iron work, the black marble tomb of Archbishop Mepeham, with its boldly sculptured ornaments, should be noticed. A strange and most unsightly mistake has been made in this chapel by those in authority; the vault of the apse has been skinned of its plaster and the rough Kentish rag exposed, after a fashion that would have horrified its original designer.

Passing on, round the already described Trinity Chapel, the chapel of St. Andrew, in the corresponding position on the north side of the quire to that of St. Anselm on the south, is reached. It is now used as the vestry of the prebendaries, and formerly served as a sacristy for some of the relics associated with St. Thomas that were only shown to the more noble of the pilgrims, as well as for the more costly vestments and golden plate of the cathedral. The building is part of Ernulf's work, and well repays minute examination. On the north side of this chapel is a vaulted building of rich Norman work of the year 1135, the ancient Treasury, still secured by a door with three locks. Here are kept the yearly accounts of the cathedral dating back to the Restoration.

Passing on to the west, the north quire transept is gained. The altars in the two apses were respectively dedicated to St. Martin and St. Stephen. Roughly scratched on the walls, about six feet from the

ground, are the names 'Lanfrancus,' and 'Ediva Regina'; the bodies of the archbishop and queen were removed here after the fire. Ediva was the wife of Edward the Elder, and a liberal benefactor to Christ Church in the days of St. Dunstan. The Cathedral Church

The north-west transept, or Martyrdom, the actual scene of the tragedy that startled all Christendom, and whose dim, distant echoes yet reverberate in the ears of the intelligent visitor, has already been to some extent described. Only a small portion, however, of the present structure actually witnessed the murderous scene of unparalleled brutality that was here enacted on December 29, 1170; but a portion of the lower masonry undoubtedly pertains to Lanfranc, and some of the pavement is almost certainly the same. In the time of Becket this transept was in two storeys, divided by a vault upheld by a central pillar. The upper part, the steps to which remain, was the chapel of St. Blaise, and the lower that of St. Benedict; in the west wall was then, as now, the door opening into the cloister. To the east of the Martyrdom is the old Lady Chapel of the upper church, now usually termed the Dean's Chapel, which dates from 1460; it has gained the later title owing to the monuments of five post-Reformation deans having been placed against its walls. Just outside this chapel are the monuments of Archbishop Peckham (1292), and Archbishop Warham (1532). The great window above was the gift of Edward IV. after his visit to the cathedral in 1465. This was the window that incurred the special




hatred of the miscreant Dick Culmer, who, with a pike in his hand on the top of a ladder, to use his own disreputable words, 'rattled down proud Becket's glassy bones.'

Crossing over the church, below the great flight of steps up to the quire, the chapel of St. Michael is reached in the south-west transept; it corresponds in position to the Lady Chapel on the north. It probably forms part of the work carried out by Prior Chillenden, who died in 1410. The most remarkable feature of this chapel is the tomb of that great patriot-archbishop, Stephen Langton, who died in 1228. It is in the east wall, half inside and half outside the chapel; the fifteenth-century chapel having been built across it. At first sight this treatment of so great an archbishop seems to have been irreverent; but it was probably considered to do him

honour, for the head would be exactly under the altar of the rebuilt chapel. The lovely natural leaf sculpture round the top of the piscina shaft to the south of the altar should not escape observation, and the like work on the north side for the support of the credence. The vine leaves and tendrils above are also beautifully carved. In the centre of the chapel stands the great tomb of Lady Margaret Holland, and her two husbands, John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset, who died in 1410, and Thomas, Duke of Clarence, who died in 1420; the lady survived her second husband for seventeen years. These effigies are of interest and value to the student of costume, as the smallest details seem to be faithfully reproduced; note the two small pug-dogs with belled collars at the lady's feet. In this chapel may also be noted the bust of Vice-Admiral Sir George Rooke, a native of Canterbury, who won Gibraltar for the English; the monument of Sir Thomas Thornhurst, who fell in the expedition to the Isle of Rhé, in 1627; and the old war-stained colours of 'The Buffs.'

At last an entrance will be made into the central quire, round whose aisles and chapels and transepts we have already wandered. The comments, for lack of space, must be brief—a brevity that is to be regretted in connection with some of the more important monuments. This great quire, built by the two Williams (1175-1184) with consummate skill to adapt itself to the remnants of Conrad's glorious quire that the fire had spared, is 180 feet in length, the longest of any English church. Its beauty is materially

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In the Quire

lessened by the comparative lowness of the vaulting, but it is of surpassing interest in the marvellous and ingenious blending of the later Norman style with the dawn of that first pointed work which was so peculiarly English. The quire is entered through the solid structure of the great screen, known to be the work of Prior Eastry in 1304-5, though the base has much of the earlier work of William of Sens. The original stalls of the quire have long ago disappeared. The stalls of the Dean and chief Canons facing east are of noble late Renaissance design, and are probably those that were placed here by Archbishop Sheldon in 1663. Of course the workmanship does not harmonise with 'the Gothic style by which it is surrounded,' as has been so often remarked. But no more does the pointed thirteenth-century work 'harmonise' with the Norman, and still less with the fourteenth and fifteenth-century styles that followed. Nevertheless they may all blend into an admirable general effect, and, at all events, they all

tell of the generous efforts of successive generations to give of the best of the art of their times to the sanctuaries of the Most High. There is much to be thankful for in what is generally termed the Gothic Revival of last century; but the one great and sorry blot upon that elevating movement was the almost insolent way in which it decided that post-Reformation art and history were at all hazards to be blotted out. England's cathedral churches have all suffered acutely from this devastating characteristic of the earlier Victorian era, and Canterbury amongst the number. It would indeed be a sorry thing to clear out these stalls to give way to some mere imitative modern work, as has been more than once seriously proposed; stalls, let it be remembered, that represent the great effort that England put forth to give of the best it could then produce to put in the place of church fittings destroyed or hopelessly damaged by the Puritan malevolence of wanton fanatics.

In 1704 the general refurnishing of the quire was begun by Archbishop Tenison, and he himself presented the strikingly handsome throne, enriched with the carvings of Grinling Gibbons, to which reference has already been made. The quire was beautifully panelled throughout, the wainscot being divided into bays by fluted pilasters and ornamented with an effective frieze. The double rows of seats were also most admirable of their kind and workmanship. The general effect can be readily gathered from the large plates in Dart's *History* of the cathedral, published in 1726. Archbishop Howley started the

re-gothicising of the quire fittings, by finding the funds in 1844 for the erection on the south side of a great stone throne of tabernacle work, banishing the Tenison throne so excellent for that period. No one of taste can say that the present stone throne is good of its kind; it has a somewhat heavy and clumsy look, for the base is a good deal too wide in comparison with the height. This was followed in 1879 by the unfortunate ejection of the Renaissance quire fittings (save the stalls at the west) in favour of seating designed by Sir G. Gilbert Scott, supposed to be 'harmonious.'

At the east end of the quire are a most interesting series of tombs that can only here be enumerated.

On the south side—beginning from the throne—are those of Cardinal Kemp (1454), with a remarkable and unique wooden canopy; of Archbishop Stratford (1348), much mutilated; and of Archbishop Sudbury (1381), beheaded by the mob for his share in the hated poll-tax.

On the north side—counting from the east—are those of Archbishop Bourchier (1486), who crowned three sovereigns; of Archbishop Howley (1848), a cenotaph; and of Archbishop Chicheley, with cadaver below (1443), the painting of which is renewed from time to time by New College, Oxford.

The date, or rather dates, of the rebuilding of the nave have already been given. It is not so impressive as that of Winchester, which was undergoing a rebuilding process at the same time; but the general effect of what Professor Willis calls 'a light Per-

pendicular' is exceedingly good. The great need, especially noticeable in bright summer weather, is for more good painted glass. The great west window is filled with ancient glass that has been inappropriately robbed from the clerestory windows of the quire, and from the old west window of the chapter-house. One of the best of the modern windows is that of Messrs. Clayton and Bell, in the north aisle, to the memory of Dean Stanley; in this window many fragments of the old glass have been skilfully incorporated with the new work. One of the most noticeable objects in the nave is the seventeenth-century font, recently well restored and replaced in its former position—the font that incurred the particular wrath of those Puritan revilers of all that was fair and decent.

THE FONT AND COVER

This imposing font, now happily replaced in its original position under the arch of the third bay from the west, on the north side of the nave, is a singularly fine composition of its kind, and represents in a striking fashion the best of the art and religious feeling of the time of its erection. It stands on four octagon steps. The base, of white and black-veined marbles, has figures of the four evangelists with their symbols, each fifteen inches high, separated by classic columns. The octagon patera bowl of the actual

font is well modelled. But the chief feature is the wooden cover, painted in white and deep blue, and with all the more prominent features richly gilded. The octagon base of the cover has a cherub's head on each face. Over them are the small upstanding figures of eight of the apostles. On the tier above this are the four other apostles, St. Peter, St. John, 'St. James, minor,' and St. Bartholomew. Between them are the arms of England and France, and of the diocese and chapter of Canterbury.

Below these arms and four figures is the verse, 'Goe therefore & teach all nations baptizing them in y^e^ name of y^e^ Father & y^e^ Sonne & y^e^ Holy Ghost.' Above, in smaller text, is the verse, 'Suffer little Children to come unto Me, and forbid y^m^ not: for of such is y^e^ Kingdome of God.' The whole is crowned with the figure of our Saviour with the right hand raised in blessing, and holding a little child to His breast with the left hand; two other children are at His feet. The left hand must be a clumsy restoration, it is out of proportion.

The modern monuments against the aisle walls of the nave have each their own interest, and a few of them of different dates are worthy, in the way of art or design, of the position that they hold. But there is one that must not escape special notice—the tomb of Edward White Benson. Its position, at the western end of the north wall of the north aisle of the nave, strikes most people as peculiar. It is as well that the reason for it should be placed on record. When it was known to be Archbishop Benson's own wish to

be buried in his cathedral church—a wish re-echoed not only by his family, but by the general desire of the clergy and citizens of Canterbury—unexpected obstacles intervened. It was naturally supposed that the Home Secretary would in so highly an exceptional case grant his certificate for intramural interment. But such was not the case; the Home Secretary, to the astonished bewilderment of all concerned, refused to intervene, and said that leave could only be gained by an Act of Parliament! The difficulty, that pressed for immediate solution, was solved by the generous act of Captain Austin, son of the former architect of the cathedral, who gave up a part of his family vault on this site for the archbishop's interment. And, after all, the site is suitable and admirable from more than one point of view. Archbishop Benson, though characterised by a gracious dignity of manner, was in his heart a man of genuinely humble nature; had the exact choice been his, in all probability he would have preferred a position for his body as but a doorkeeper in the House of God, rather than one of greater outward honour near to the high altar. Moreover, the position and character of his tomb, with its bright blue diapered background behind the pure white effigy, immediately facing the south entrance of the nave, by which the vast majority of worshippers and visitors enter Christ Church, has its own peculiar merits. It is just as well that every visitor to the cathedral—for all do not press on or pay the necessary fee to see the tombs that cluster so thickly

in the quire—should have his attention arrested by the monument to an archbishop who did more to raise the chair of St. Augustine to its old position of honour and respect than all his predecessors taken together since the days of martyred Laud. The beautiful and life-like effigy of the archbishop is by Mr. Brock, R.A., whilst the tomb itself, beneath a crocketed canopy, was designed by Mr. T. Jackson, R.A. The monument was unveiled by the Duchess of Albany in 1898.

On the north side of the nave stands by far the finest pulpit produced in England during the nineteenth century. It is a noble piece of wood-carving, enriched with apt painting and gilding, and yet admirably adapted for its position. It makes no pretence to be mediæval, but yet does not in any way clash with its surroundings. This fine ornament to the nave, the balustrades of which carry large figures of St. Augustine and St. Paulinus, was designed by Mr. Bodley, and serves as a memorial to Dr. Payne Smith, who was dean from 1871 to 1895.

As to the exterior of the cathedral church, the south porch, forming the base of the south-west tower of the nave, has already been named. Over the door an interesting representation of the altar of St. Thomas, surmounted by the Rood with Mary and John, has of recent years been exposed by the removal of a sundial. The many niches of this porch have been repeopled with statues, as well as the lower niches of the west front. These figures were all the

work of a Belgian artist, and were placed here in the 'sixties' through the energy of Dean Alford. Frank criticism is bound to admit that the statues are not quite worthy of their position, and only look well from a distance.

The west front of the cathedral (tailpiece of this chapter) lacks the dignity and special grace of several of England's cathedral churches; still it yields an impression of great size, and of skill in its erection; and the two large flanking towers, though somewhat severely plain in detail, group well and imposingly with the rest of the pile, provided no attempt is made to view them from the quite direct west. These two towers, each of six stages and fine towering angle pinnacles, are now, alas! exactly uniform—a fact that may yield pleasure to a geometrical eye, but has its distinct drawbacks, even if the history of this part of the fabric was unknown. The north-west tower used to be, in its main features, of Lanfranc's date, and the spire by which it was subsequently crowned was taken down, after a storm, in 1705. In 1840 Mr. Austin, the cathedral architect, obtained the sanction of the chapter to the demolition of the ancient historic north-west tower; and for the childish object of securing uniformity, destroyed it, and erected as a successor, at a cost of £25,000, a new tower, an exact reproduction of the one at the south-west. This was an unhappy piece of work, and the most profligate waste of money over unnecessary new imitation architecture that ever happened during the nineteenth century save at St.

Albans. Mr. Beresford Hope and others deservedly criticised this action at the time in stringent terms; but it does not seem to us fair to describe the new tower as a 'feeble copy' of the old. We have got this new tower, and sixty years have mellowed it to nearly as ripe a tint as its fellow. The old historic tower has irretrievably perished. Let us make the best of that which now stands. The fifteenth-century work of the south-west tower is by no means the best of its kind or date; but in common fairness let it be admitted that the nineteenth-century imitative tower is just as good as the one from which it was copied. In fact, it has been copied with the slavish faithfulness of a native of China.

Here it may be mentioned that the height of these western towers is 130 feet; the total length of the cathedral is 510 feet interior, and 537 exterior; and the height of the central tower 235 feet.

As to the Angel Tower or steeple—it is devoutly to be wished that all Canterbury residents, more especially photographers and guide-book makers, would abjure the more recent 'Bell Harry' name with all its hateful associations—it must again be repeated that it is the uplifting glory and the superlative distinction of the whole of the great pile. It causes the most critical spectator to forget the coarser work of its far feebler twin brothers at the west, to overlook the incompleteness of the eastern exterior, and gives a sense of finished perfection and stately magnificence to the general proportions of the vast cathedral church, from

whatever point far or near it may be viewed. As there is so much general misapprehension as to the true date or rather dates of the Angel Steeple, a brief repetition may here be given of what has already been stated as to the real times of its construction. The first stone was laid in 1433, when the whole design was certainly planned out, and in all probability carried to some considerable height above the roof in Prior Molashe's days. Then came a long pause in its construction and completion. During the priorship of William Selling (1472 to 1494), under the immediate direction of Thomas Goldstone, who afterwards succeeded Selling as prior, the work was brought to a happy conclusion. The obituary states that 'he vaulted it with a most beautiful vault, and with excellent and artistic workmanship in every part sculptured and gilt, with ample windows glazed and veined. He also with great care and industry annexed to the columns which support the same tower, two arches or vaults of stonework, curiously carved, and four smaller ones, to assist in sustaining the said tower.' Goldstone's remarkable buttressing arches to the piers still remain a distinguishing feature of the crossing under the tower at the west end of the nave.

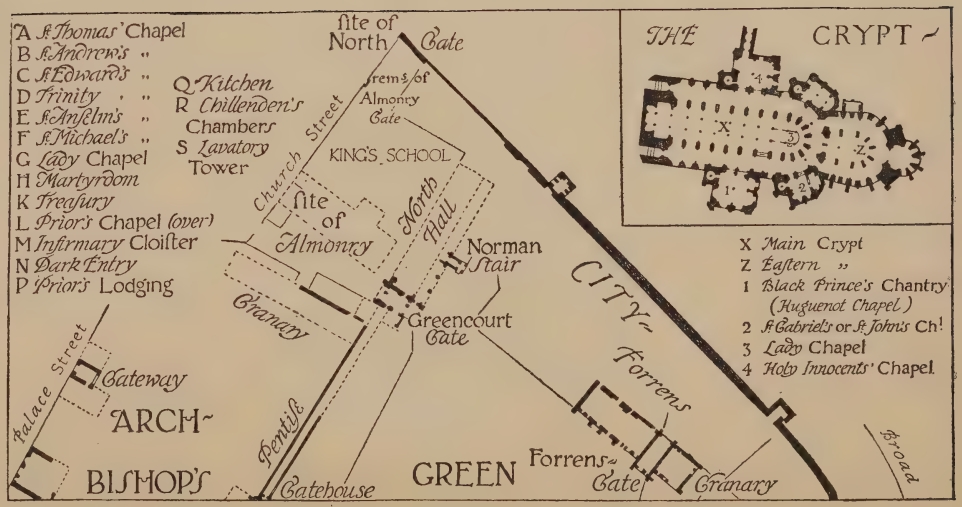
Before proceeding to the consideration of the conventual or monastic buildings of Christ Church, a word or two must be said as to the ancient gateway through which the precincts are gained on the south side; for this was the public entrance to the cathedral church, and quite distinct from the gateway

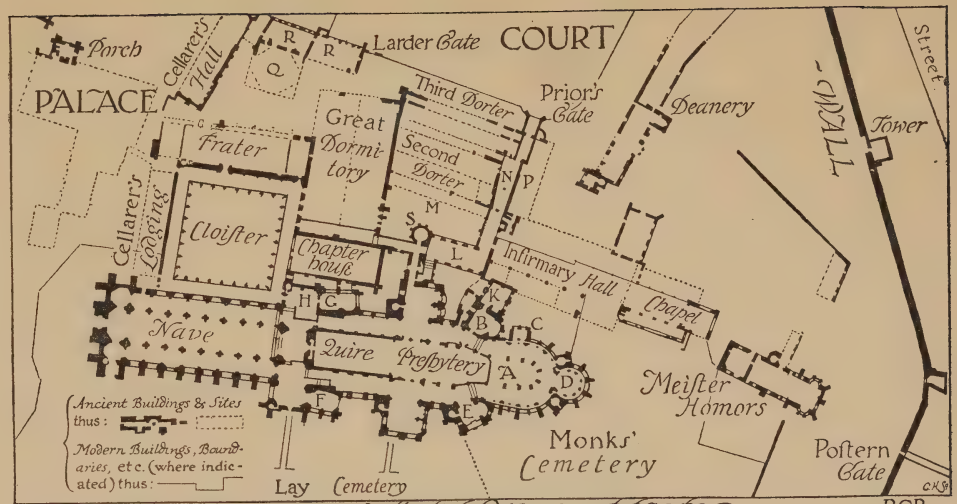
to the monastery on the north-west. This fine entrance was the work of Prior Goldstone II., and was not completed until 1517. It has a dignity of its own in its somewhat crumbling condition, closely hemmed in by houses on each side; but it must have looked much more stately when flanked by two turrets that have been removed in comparatively recent years. Strictly speaking, this was the cemetery gate, but both it and its Norman predecessor were used for general access to the great church. The cemetery for the professed monks lay on the south side of the church, towards the east end beyond St. Anselm's chapel; it was separated by a wall from the cemetery of the lay members of the community, which was nearer to the west. This wall contained a fine Norman gateway, which has been removed further to the east, and now forms the entrance to the garden known as the Bowling Green. In the garden of the canonical house immediately in line with the Anselm chapel is a mound on which the Norman campanile or bell-tower used to stand. In the adjacent coach-house are remains of old Norman work—a part, it is thought, of the old school-house where the monks used to teach the poor children of the citizens; a school that was reconstituted after the Dissolution, under the title of King's School, thus giving the false idea of Henry VIII. being the true founder.

There are certain points that should be noticed by even hasty visitors, on the exterior of the southern transept and quire. Such are the projecting end of

Stephen Langton's tomb through the east wall of St. Michael's chapel; the combined work of 1100 and 1180 of the windows between this chapel and the eastern transept; and the exquisite decorations and beautiful proportions of that gem of Norman work, the small lead-capped tower of the earlier transept.

The West Towers BCB


A St Thomas' Chapel
B St Andrew's "
C St Edward's "
D Trinity " "
E St Anselm's "
F St Michael's "
G Lady Chapel
H Martyrdom
K Treasury
L Prior's Chapel (over)
M Infirmary Cloister
N Dark Entry
P Prior's Lodging
Q Kitchen
R Chillenden's Chambers
S Lavatory Tower
Site of North Gate
Rems of Almonry Gate
Church Street
KING'S SCHOOL
Site of Almonry
North Hall
Norman Stair
Granary
Greencourt Gate
CITY
Forrens
Palace Street
Gateway
ARCH-
BISHOP'S
Pentise
Gatehouse
GREEN
Forrens Gate
Granary
Broad
THE CRYPT
X Main Crypt
Z Eastern "
1 Black Prince's Chantry (Huguenot Chapel)
2 St Gabriel's or St John's Ch!
3 Lady Chapel
4 Holy Innocents' Chapel


Porch
Cellarer's Hall
PALACE
Larder
Gate
COURT
Third Dorter
Prior's Gate
Deanery
Great Dormitory
Second Dorter
Frater
Cellarer's Looking
Cloister
Chapter house
Infirmary Hall
Chapel
Nave
Quire
Presbytery
Meister Homors
Monks' Cemetery
Postern Gate
Lay Cemetery
Ancient Buildings & Sites thus:
Modern Buildings, Boundaries, etc. (where indicated) thus:
Tower
Street
CANTERBVRY CATHEDRAL & PRIORY
BCB

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE MONASTIC BUILDINGS OF CHRIST CHURCH

CLOISTER ALLEY

IT was more usual for the conventual buildings of a great Benedictine house, or indeed of any religious house in England, to lie on the sunny southern side of the church. But there are exceptions to every rule, and Canterbury is one of those cases in which the buildings for the residence of the monks lay on the north. The reason at Canterbury is not far to seek. Christ Church was established long after a fairly populous and fortified city had been built. It was not like Bury St. Edmunds, Evesham, and others, where the making of the town came about as a mere accretion round the abbey. The site for Christ Church as originally granted in early Saxon days was

close to the city just outside its walls; subsequent extension became possible on the north, but not on the south.



The great cloister which extends its square of alleys on each side of the grassy garth to the immediate north of the nave of the church, was built, as it at present stands, by Prior Chillenden (*c.* 1400). Prior Selling glazed the openings of the southern walk in 1485 (headpiece of this chapter), and constructed there for the comfort of monks at study, 'the new framed contrivances called carrels.' At the south-west corner are three gates; the one on the left led to the nave, the one in the centre to the archbishop's palace, and the one on the right to the cellarer's buildings. The west alley was entirely flanked by the cellarer's block; at the north end is an octagonal opening in the wall, which used to be fitted with 'a turn,' or contrivance by which the server inside could not see the person served, and *vice versa*; this would be chiefly used for the passage of 'beavers' (small draughts of beer or wine), to monks, by permission of the prior, after hall time. At the north-west corner is a doorway that also led to the palace; it was at this angle that St. Thomas passed into the cloister, on his way to the church, on the night of his martyrdom. Here may be noticed, at the back of the north cloister wall, some arcading work of the time of Prior Sittingborne (1222-1232). This was the back of the south wall of the frater or refectory, the great dining-hall of the monks. The entrance was by a large doorway in the north alley, opposite

CLOISTERS: NORTH

to which are two open arch spaces where the lavatory of the monks stood. This doorway now leads into the garden of the Bishop of Dover's house, which occupies the site of the frater, and also contains the picturesque ruin of the square monastic kitchen, which had an octagonal roof. A little further on, at the beginning of the east alley, is an early Norman doorway which gave admission to a groined apartment beneath the great dorter or dormitory, a vast subdivided room, 148 feet by 78 feet, which was gained by a newel stairway; a part of it now serves for the new chapter library.

In the centre of this alley is the ornamental doorway flanked by window openings of thirteenth-century date, leading into the great chapter-house. The lower part of this building is the work of Prior Eastry in 1304; he rebuilt the chapter-house on the site of its Norman predecessor; but the upper part is a renewal by Prior Chillenden, the rebuilder of the cloister, about a century later. The windows and roof are of this date. After the Reformation, this great chamber was for a long time used as 'the Sermon-house,' the congregation adjourning here for the preaching; those of Puritan inclination coming here direct, and avoiding the service in the

church. It is now much used by the King's Scholars for examination and speech-day purposes. The extensive restoration of the interior of this building was carried out by Dean Farrar, and reopened by the Prince of Wales (Edward VII.) in 1897. The great east window has been filled with glass by the free-masons of Kent. The colouring and restoration of this ancient chapter-house has unfortunately been carried out in such a way that all sense of age or historic interest has been obliterated. Still it is a noble hall in its proportions, being 92 feet by 37 feet, and 54 feet high.

The cloister should not be left without taking care to note the view of the buildings that can be obtained from the north-west angle. From this spot a pillar at the north-west angle of the base of the central tower, which is the only relic of the central Norman tower of Lanfranc's church, can be seen; also a considerable part of the west face of the north transept, which is of like date.

Passing through the 'Dark Entry,' celebrated after a humorous but most unsavoury fashion in the *Ingoldsby Legends*—which runs out of the east cloister alley by the north wall of the chapter-house, the south alley of the infirmary cloister is gained. The west side of this smaller cloister is bounded by the dormitory; the east by the front or west wall of the hall of the infirmary; whilst the south side provides for the continuation of a passage through the vaults, under the great dormitory, from the great cloister. On this south side of the infirmary

cloister were the second and third dormitories—the former for the obedientiaries or monastic officials, whilst the latter was the local cant name of the reredorter or *necessarium*. At present the south arcade is partly covered by the circular picturesque tower of the lavatory, the centre of the elaborate system of waterworks for the community; it is generally nowadays known by the absurd and misleading title of 'The Baptistery'; the arches below it are good Norman. The infirmary itself extends eastward from the east wall of the infirmary cloister. The picturesque row of ruined arches, on the north side of the quire of the great church, give the idea of a subsidiary church of no mean proportions. But these five Norman piers and arches are really the arches of the main area or wall of this hall on its south side, for it was flanked by aisles. To the eastern extremity of this hall is appended a quasi-chancel, which was the infirmary chapel as restored and enlarged in the fourteenth century; there are considerable remains of its south aisle, and of the east end.

To the north of the great infirmary hall stood the Table Hall, where the actual meals of the inmates able to leave their beds were served; much of this building is incorporated with the house of the Archdeacon of Maidstone.

To the east of the infirmary chapel stands the canonical house formerly known as Meist Omers (probably from Magister Homer, an early official of the monastery); it used to form part of a great

INFIRMARY RUINS

range of buildings which were at the disposal of the prior for the entertainment of the best-born class of pilgrims.

It ought to be mentioned that the south aisle of the infirmary hall was separated off, in late pre-Reformation days, to form a set of chambers for the sub-prior. These were afterwards turned into a canonical house, which has been pulled down in recent years.

The infirmary hall used to open at its west end into a passage leading to the prior's chapel and its substructure; but that has long ago disappeared, and is occupied by a red brick building which holds Archbishop Howley's library.

The large Green Court, to the north of the infirmary cloisters, has on the east side the range of buildings, now forming the deanery, which was constructed by Prior Goldstone II. (1495-1517) and called the New Lodging; it was intended to provide still further accommodation for noble pilgrims. The actual chambers of the lord prior were to the east of the infirmary close, and communicated with the church. The two pillars standing in the Green Court garden are of the highest interest, and come from the unhappily demolished and very early church of Reculver. At the south-west angle of this garden are the range of buildings known as Chillenden's Chambers, which are incorporated with the house of the Archdeacon of Canterbury. These were for the accommodation of the middle class of pilgrims, and were under the charge of the cellarer. The ground floor opens on to a long covered way or pentise, parts of which still exist, and which originally stretched along the whole of the long western side of the Green Court to the great gatehouse or porter's lodge of the monastery.

This gatehouse is obviously of two dates, for the beautiful Norman arch has had much later arches inserted beneath it to carry the gate. Above it is a room reached by a staircase from the North Hall, which was the work of Prior Chillenden. This North

Hall was a great building wherein the pilgrims of the working class were accommodated. The arches, over which the new King's School was built in 1848, are the remains of the undercroft of this hall, but it was of much larger size than the school, extending further both to the east and the north. It was reached by the well-known Norman staircase, one of the most beautiful relics of that period that remains in England.

On the north side of the Green Court, where the chorister's school, and one of the houses of the minor canons now stands, were the brewery, bakehouse, and other menial offices of the great monastery.

In the court to the west of the North Hall, known as the Mint Yard, there used to stand a most important adjunct of the monastery, the Almonry. It was here that broken meat, alms in money, and cast-off clothing were disbursed to the poor, and here, too, was maintained a school for children in needy circumstances. Cranmer revived the old privilege of minting money that pertained to the archbishops of Canterbury from very early days; he seems to have made use of the old Almonry buildings—their charitable service died with the Dissolution—for coining, and hence the name of Mint Yard. The old buildings of this court were unfortunately cleared away in 1865.

Those who desire to fully study and understand the plan and uses of the vast range of monastic buildings that lie to the north of the conventual church, and of which such considerable remains are still extant, cannot do better than carefully read the

Canterbury

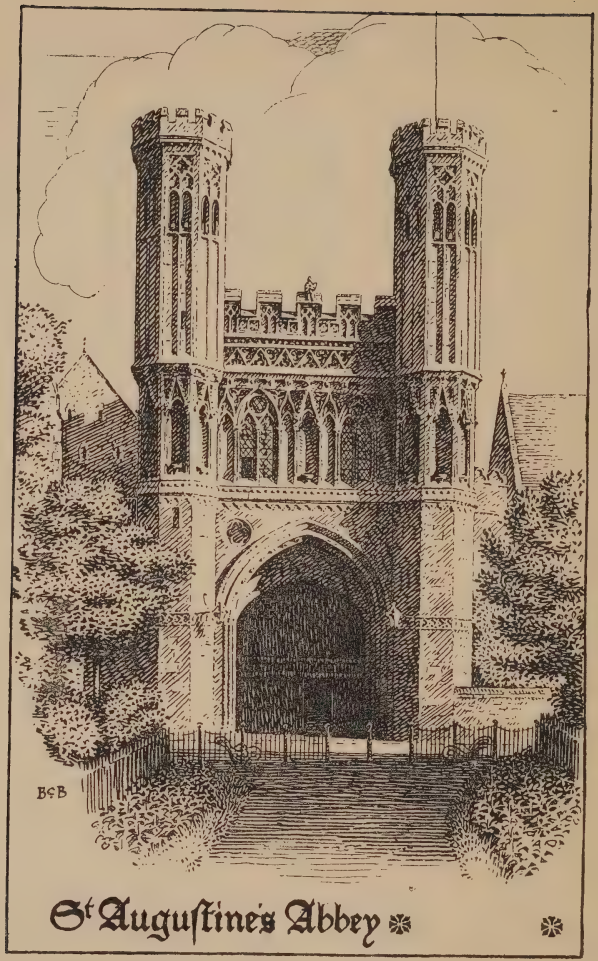
late Professor Willis's inimitable treatise, with its accompanying plans, on *The Conventual Buildings of the Monastery of Christ Church in Canterbury*. Nowhere else in England can the life of a monastery be more plainly and perfectly traced; and if that book is mastered and these buildings identified, the rule and customs of the old 'religious' of this country will be at once realised, and the plan of every monastic ruin will be made intelligible.

The buildings are divided by Willis under four heads: Monastic, Hospital, Menial, and Eleemosynary. We venture to transcribe a single paragraph from his general summary, to show the lucidity of his style.

'First for the buildings close to the north side of the church, which were appropriated to the monastic life. This life, in the intervals between church services, feeding, and sleeping, was spent in the great Cloister, secluded from the world, in meditation, reading, writing, or teaching. Hence the Cloister itself is bounded by buildings which minister to those purposes. It is fitted up with seats and private studies, and has the church walls on the south and east, the Dormitory and Chapter-house also on the east, and the Refectory or Frater on the north, all provided with doors of entrance from the cloister walls. The Dormitory and Refectory are raised upon sub-vaults. A passage through those at the south end of the Dormitory leads to the smaller or Infirmary cloister, which has the Dormitory for its west border, cloister alleys for its north and south borders, and

the Infirmary for its east boundary. The Infirmary Hall and Chapel extend eastward beyond this cloister. Thus this second cloister separates the Infirmary, which is appropriated to the sick and infirm monks, from the healthy and active members of the community, whose daily life was spent in the great Cloister and its surrounding buildings, and also furnishes a covered way from that cloister to the Infirmary.'

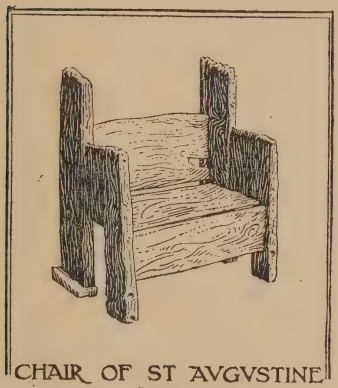
Old Northgate and S. Mary's Church




St Augustine's Abbey

# CHAPTER IX

## ST. AUGUSTINE'S AND OTHER RELIGIOUS HOUSES



CHAIR OF ST AVGVSTINE
B·C·B

THE early history of the monastery of St. Augustine that lies to the east of the city—founded in 598; finished and hallowed in 613, and dedicated to Sts. Peter and Paul; re-dedicated by St. Dunstan in 971 with the addition of the name of St. Augustine; richly endowed and privileged by successive early kings of England, from the days of Ethelbert downwards — has already been woven into the general history of the city.

The interest attached to this monastery in its rise, an interest revived so effectively by its renewed life on somewhat different lines in recent years, is so

superlatively great, that if Christ Church and its monastery and the whole of the city of Canterbury, with its host of ecclesiastical and civil accretions, were to disappear, this one spot would pre-eminently deserve a pilgrimage from all historical students and intelligent church-folk of the Anglo-Saxon tongue. Rightly was it known as the Abbey of St. Augustine. On his tomb in this church could be read, in those early days when the Venerable Bede wrote his religious chronicles, the following brief record of his life and death :—

'Here resteth the Lord Augustine, first Archbishop of Canterbury, who erewhile was sent hither by Blessed Gregory, Bishop of the city of Rome, and being helped by God to work miracles, drew over King Ethelbert and his race from the worship of idols to the faith of Christ. Having ended in peace the days of his ministry, he departed hence seven days before the Kalends of June in the reign of the same king, A.D. 605.'

One of the original intentions of this establishment was to secure that the clergy of this new Christian mission should have opportunities of study and learning; and many of the gifts from Rome, that arrived at St. Augustine's in 673, were valuable manuscripts. Dean Stanley, with his wonted eloquence of expression, wrote of this monastery as 'the mother school, the mother university of England, the seat of letters and study, at a time when Cambridge was a desolate fen, and Oxford a tangled forest in a wide waste of waters.'

In addition to certain general facts that have been already stated as to this abbey, a few other historic particulars may be added. Next to the possession of the remains of St. Augustine, its most valuable asset—if such a term may be inoffensively used—was the body of St. Mildred; it was assigned to St. Augustine's by Canute in 1027, together with all the endowments of the convent of Minster, in the Isle of Thanet, which had been sacked by the Danes. In 1055 the Pope granted to the abbot the use of episcopal insignia, such as mitre, staff, gloves, and sandals. Nor was the Abbot of St. Augustine merely honoured after a special fashion in his own country; for in General Councils the Abbot of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, had his seat next to the Abbot of Monte Casino, who was the head of the whole Benedictine Order.

The exceptional dignity and importance of the abbot and convent of St. Augustine's are abundantly proved by the four volumes of calendars of English references in the Papal Registers of the Vatican, from 1198 to 1404, recently issued in the Rolls Series. The indexes show the extraordinary number of communications that passed between this house and Rome, and the remarkable frequency with which successive abbots were appointed papal commissioners in matters that had been referred to the Curia. Three instances of the numerous papal communications respecting their privileges, taken almost at haphazard from this source, may be briefly cited. In 1256 Alexander IV. granted an indult to the

Canterbury

abbot and convent that their customs, liberties, and immunities should not be prejudiced by constitutions or statutes of papal legates, nuncios, delegates, visitors or inquisitors. John XXII. in 1334 ratified to the abbot and convent the grants made of possessions and privileges, and especially touching their exemption from the archbishop's visitation and jurisdiction granted by Boniface VIII. (an acknowledgment of one mark being paid yearly at Easter for this privilege), notwithstanding compositions that had been made between past archbishops and abbots. In 1390 the abbot, described as immediately dependent on the Roman Church, obtained from Boniface IX. licence for himself and his successors to dispense monks of their monastery, of the age of twenty-two, to be ordained priest by any Catholic bishop in communion with the apostolic see. Those who desire to enter more fully into the claims and contentions of the monks of St. Augustine, are referred to the Chronicles of that house by Thomas Elmham, monk and treasurer, who wrote in 1414; they were published in the Rolls Series in 1858.

The jurisdiction of the abbey extended over the whole of ten parishes, over portions of a hundred more, and in certain districts of the city of Canterbury. They also held fourteen rectories and the appointment to a like number of vicarages.

Their doles to the poor of the city and district were continuous, and of a special character on various anniversaries; whilst the abbot's occasional entertainment of royal and distinguished guests—such as

Edward I., Richard II. and his Queen, Cardinal Beaufort and Queen Margaret, and even Henry VIII. and Lady Jane Seymour—were carried out on a most sumptuous scale. The *Valor Ecclesiastiary* of 1535 gives the gross annual value of the abbey as £1548, 18s. 2¾d., and the clear value as £1413, 4s. 11¾d. St. Augustine's

After its destruction as a religious house, parts of it served, as has been already stated, as a palace for that arch-destroyer of all of England's most sacred sanctuaries, Henry VIII.; it subsequently passed successively through the hands of Cardinal Pole, Lord Cobham, the Earl of Salisbury, Lord Wootton, and Sir Edward Hales. By the beginning of last century it was abandoned as a residence, much of the foundations and even the very stone coffins of the religious being carted off for use in the erection of a mansion at Hales Place. As stated in the excellent little guide to St. Augustine's, by the Manciple of the College, 'it had now reached its lowest point of degradation; the great gate had become the entrance to a brewery; the gate-chamber, the state bed-chamber of the monastery, was used as the receptacle of the cooling vat; the guest-hall was a dancing room, where many a main of cocks had been fought at the early part of last century; the kitchen a public-house; whilst the grounds were used for dancing and fireworks, and were known as the Old Palace Tea Gardens.'

The following old handbill, preserved at the college as a curiosity, of the year 1836, seems to be

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worth reprinting, as otherwise such a use of this site, in the midst of a cathedral city, would appear almost incredible :—

OLD PALACE GARDENS, CANTERBURY.

MR. STANMORE,

(Late of Canterbury Theatre),

Begs most respectfully to inform the inhabitants of Canterbury and its Vicinity that the above Gardens will open under his direction

ON TUESDAY, JULY 31ST, 1836,

and will continue open every

TUESDAY AND THURSDAY EVENING,

during the season upon the principle of

THE ROYAL GARDENS, VAUXHALL,

And trusts these entertainments will give that satisfaction and meet with the support it will be his study to deserve. The beauty of the Gardens are (*sic*) known to all, and their appearance will be highly imposing when

ILLUMINATED

with nearly

TWO THOUSAND VARIEGATED LAMPS.

THE CONCERT

will take place in the spacious Orchestra erected in the Gardens, for which

MISS MEARS,

of the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, and Drury Lane, and

MR. WARREN,

Late of Royal Gardens, Vauxhall, and several other professional persons are engaged.

A part of the gardens will be appropriated to

DANCING,

And will be opened to the Public without any extra charge and for which

A FULL QUADRILLE BAND IS ENGAGED.

Mr. Stanmore is making arrangements with numerous performers for

SINGING AND DANCING,
SLACK AND TIGHT-ROPE DANCING,
GYMNASTIC EXERCISES,

And every kind of amusement suitable for Gardens also with

Mr. Fenwick the celebrated artist in fireworks, who will have the honor of firing during the season of which due notice will be given.

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ADMISSION:
One Shilling each Person. Children under twelve years of age half-price.
Gardens open at Half-past Seven. Performance to commence at Eight.

Soon after the issue of this appalling handbill, a visit paid to Canterbury by that enthusiastic ecclesiologist, the late Mr. Beresford Hope, M.P., then in the prime of his early life, was the means of putting a stop to the defilement of the resting-place of St. Augustine and of a long train of early archbishops and Christian kings. The ruins and ground plot of most of the abbey were purchased in 1844, and by his princely munificence a practical scheme of restoration, undertaken in connection with Rev. Edward Coleridge, was begun and carried to a successful issue. The architect was Mr. Butterfield. 'New buildings arose, a new life seemed to come out of the old shadows that lay so long over and around the ruins. It was identical with the ancient house, but such were the pains taken to preserve as much as possible of the old work that seemed worth preserving, that it appeared in part a perfect restoration.'

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On St. Peter's Day 1848, the Missionary College of St. Augustine was formally opened, and the chapel consecrated by the primate. Since that date, the new buildings have from time to time been considerably extended and enlarged. The whole range of buildings now known as St. Augustine's College consists, in the first place, of mediæval constructions that remain almost intact; in the second place, of restorations from sufficient data; and thirdly, of new work carefully designed in conformity with the old, but not intended to replace or reproduce any particular feature of the former abbey. The old precinct wall of the abbey enclosed a space of sixteen acres, which included several courts and a variety of buildings. The portion utilised for the college is the great or outer court to the north-west of the conventual church; the garth of the old cloister forming the kitchen-garden, and part of the nave of the church, being in the grounds.

The great gateway, the work of the fourteenth century, stands much as before, and still forms the main entrance. Over the vaulted archway is a chamber, formerly the state bedchamber of the monastery. Since the Dissolution it has been used by Elizabeth, Charles I., and Charles II. To the right hand, *i.e.* southward, extends the college hall with range of kitchens beneath. The hall is a fine spacious room 60 feet by 40 feet. The floors and divisions by which it was parcelled out after the Dissolution were removed at the foundation of the college. It is probably the oldest dining-hall in

England now in regular use. The warden's chair at the high table is a finely carved piece of Flemish work of the sixteenth century, bought in Belgium, and presented by Mr. Beresford Hope. This great apartment was not the refectory of the monks, as is sometimes supposed, but the guesten-hall, reserved for festive occasions, and particularly for the entertainment of kings and their retinue. The kitchen, which was the bar of a public-house in the eighteenth century, is now reappropriated to its proper use. St. Augustine's

The old guest-chapel, or chapel of the outer court, stood on a level with the guest-hall on its south side, and was gained by the same flight of steps. This chapel has been restored and enlarged. There is a good oak screen separating the ante-chapel from the chapel proper, which is furnished with excellent carved oak stalls for warden, fellows, and students. The floor-tiles, the coloured glass of the windows, and the whole of the altar appointments are admirable and dignified of their kind. Below the guest-chapel is the crypt or memorial chapel, which serves for the daily offices of the college. Here too the sculptures and the altar are most impressive. In this chapel, which was perhaps the mortuary chapel for guests or lay folk dying within the precincts, are small simple marble tablets arranged in lines along the walls recording the deaths of the missionary priests who have gone forth from this college to all quarters of the earth; several of them dying a martyr's death, as young soldiers of the

Cross. Rightly is it termed the memorial chapel, for it is fragrant with the memories of many humble followers of St. Augustine, who have during the past fifty years laid down their lives, often amid scenes of great privation and deprived of all human solace, in the dark places of the earth.

Adjacent to the chapel, further southward, are the warden's lodge, fellows' buildings, and other chambers, which are for the most part modern work.

On the north side of the quadrangle is a long low two-storied building, with a fine open ambulatory on the ground floor, often, by a misnomer, termed the Cloisters. Behind this ambulatory is a range of students' small rooms, and above are further rooms for a like purpose. The number of the students is usually about forty.

On the east side of the quadrangle or great court is the library, a remarkably fine modern building, 80 feet long by 40 feet broad, and rising to a height of 63 feet. The undercroft, or crypt beneath, contains some of the old monastic work, and is a reproduction of the building that formerly stood here. Since 1884 this large low apartment has served as the Coleridge Memorial Museum; here is a considerable and valuable ethnological collection, from Borneo, Burmah, China, Central Africa, North America, British Guiana, the Sandwich Isles, and other parts served by the St. Austin missionaries. Relics, too, of modern martyrs to the Faith, such as Bishops Patterson and Mackenzie, here find an honoured resting-place. The great library above,

with upwards of ten thousand volumes, is divided into bays by the projecting book-cases, as in the best types of old college libraries; and here, too, are valuable portraits, and further missionary and literary relics and treasures, as well as a good collection of old prints relative to the former condition of St. Augustine's. St. Augustine's

This library stands mainly on the ground occupied by the great hall or abbot's hall, which stood to the west of the monks' refectory, and at right angles to it. In proceeding from it to the cloister garden, we pass over the site of the abbot's chambers and the cellarer's block of buildings, and enter the garden through a modern doorway. The actual remains of the cloister, which was rebuilt about the middle of the thirteenth century, are inconsiderable. The west wall of the cloister is supposed by some to show pre-Norman construction. To the left hand, or northwards, stood the refectory, with a great hexagonal kitchen beyond it; to the right, or southwards, the north aisle of the nave of the church; and in front, to the east, the vestibule of the chapter-house, with the parlour under one end of the great dormitory on the left, and the slype and north transept of the church on the right. The actual chapter-house stood in the field beyond, which is shortly to become part of the college property. Further on, in the south-east corner of that field, the ruined fourteenth-century arch of the rebuilt church of St. Pancras can be seen from this garden.

Going back into the quadrangle, we find in its

south-east angle all that remains of the once massive and beautiful Ethelbert Tower, with walls varying from eight to ten feet in thickness. It was 16 feet square, and had in Gostling's time (he died 1777) a newel staircase to the top, which exceeded 100 feet in height. Up to October 10, 1822, the greater part of this grand remnant of the fine Norman work of St. Augustine's, the north-west or Ethelbert Tower of the conventual church, remained as firm as on the day when it was built; but on that day several hundred tons of the summit yielded to the combined effect of a storm and human destructive ingenuity; and, later in the month, a still larger portion was dislodged by mechanical ingenuity. And this miserable destructive work was carried out to find cottage building material on the cheap! A considerable extent of the inner north wall of the nave (six bays) of the great church can be seen in the college grounds. This aisle wall is the work of the two first abbots of the Norman period, and was completed about 1090; it is crowned with brickwork, which pertains to the 'New Palace' period of reconstruction, after the Dissolution. The whole church was 320 feet in length and 74 feet in width; the nave was 175 feet long, each aisle had a width of 19 feet. The foundations of the south aisle of the nave are only a very little distance from the County Hospital.

In the warden's garden is a piece of walling, in which squares of Caen stone alternate with squares of dressed flint; this is probably part of the ornamental

work erected here by Henry VIII. when turning this portion of the abbey into a palace.



The west wall of the abbey, which was its chief front, is fairly complete for some 300 feet along Monastery Street—from the great gateway at the north to the fine cemetery gateway further south, which is now utilised as a private house. This cemetery gateway, usually called St. Ethelbert's Gate, was built by Thomas Ickham, a monk and sacrist of the monastery. The greater part of the old cemetery was purchased by the trustees of the Kent and Canterbury Hospital, which was built in 1793. The County Gaol and Sessions House, further to the east in Longport Street, also stand on property pertaining to the abbey, but just outside the precincts.

Austin Canons.—The priory of St. Gregory was one of those establishments under the control of canons regular of St. Augustine, which was sometimes termed priory and sometimes hospital, though the former title prevailed in later years. It was founded by Archbishop Lanfranc in 1084, to the honour of St. Gregory, and consisted at that time of two courts, one for infirm men and one for infirm women, with a church in charge of Austin canons. The endowments were considerably increased by Archbishop Hubert, and the number of canons increased. In 1291 the temporalities of the priory were worth £27, 15s., whilst tithes and a pension brought in £12, 6s. 8d. The *Valor* of 1535 gave the gross annual income of the house as £166, 4s. 5½d., and the clear income

£121, 15s. 1d. Among the deductions were £10 a year to the poor in Lent, and on St. George's Day; and £8 a year in payments of daily supplies for twelve inmates of the neighbouring hospital of St. John's, which was also of Lanfranc's founding. The site of this priory of St. Gregory without the walls was between Northgate and the new military road; it is now almost covered with buildings. One of the only visible fragments of this priory is a piece of walling and the chamfered edge of an entrance built up into No. 137 Northgate, flush with the street.

Benedictine Nuns.—In the eastern suburb, about a quarter of a mile without the old Riding-gate, stood the nunnery of St. Sepulchre, a house of Benedictine nuns; founded, according to the Chronicle of St. Augustine's Abbey, by Archbishop Anselm about the year 1100. The district immediately round it was once a parish, and had its own parochial church of St. Sepulchre. The parish church was probably the nave of the conventual church, separated from the nun's quire by a substantial screen. It does not seem to have ever been a house of particular importance, but doubtless did its own good work in a quiet way. It came into some notoriety, shortly before its destruction, through Elizabeth Barton, the Holy Maid of Kent, becoming a professed nun of St. Sepulchre's, as already narrated. The prioress and her nuns had but a very small assured income; in fact, they could scarcely have lived had it not been for alms. In 1535 the gross annual value of the house was £38, 19s. 7½d., but the deductions amounted to £2, 7s. 2d., 'and so remayneth

£29, 12s. 5½d. to the seid prioresse and vij nownes for their mete, drynk, apparell, and other charges.'



Black Friars.—It was in the year 1221 that the order of Friar Preachers or Black Friars, afterwards known as Dominicans, first reached England. Gilbert de Fresnoy, the head or prior of this band of thirteen devoted men, was commanded by Archbishop Langton, when they arrived at Canterbury, to preach their first sermon to the English in a church of the city where the primate had been intending to preach. This sermon, and the intercourse the primate then had with this first band of mendicants, made so favourable an impression on Stephen Langton that he became their strenuous friend. It was not, however, until sixteen years later, that a body of these friars, twenty in number, obtained Archbishop Edmund's and the king's consent to acquire a dwelling within the metropolitan city. They obtained a confined site for their house and church on the banks of the principal stream of the Stour. The friars, who depended absolutely on the freewill offerings of the people, and who accepted no kind of endowment save the actual site of their friary, were at Canterbury for nineteen years before their church was finished, whilst their conventual buildings were not all roofed in until four or five years later. It was on March 10, 1237, that Henry III. granted the Friar-Preachers an island in the river with land on the west bank; and Queen Eleanor of Provence made the first royal gift on record three months later, when she gave the friars thirty marks for the work of their

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church. Royal gifts of money and timber towards their works were afterwards frequent until all was accomplished. In 1293 they received twelve oaks from Edward I. for piles, towards making a quay or wharf on the river. The churchyard was enlarged in 1299 by the addition of a strip of land 150 feet by 120 feet. Twenty years later two other small additions were made to the homestead, and a further one in 1336. The extent of their land was eventually about $5\frac{1}{2}$ acres. Among the historic incidents associated with this Dominican house, the following may be mentioned. The sickly young Prince Henry, second son of Edward I., when visiting Canterbury in the summer of 1273, came to this church on August 2 with his little sister Eleanor, and made an offering of 3d.; the next year the child died, aged seven. Edward I. made the friars several offerings for food on his visits to the city; Isabel of France, Queen of Edward II., offered a cloth of gold for the altar on February 23, 1314, and Edward II. and Edward III. also made offerings for food during their respective Canterbury visits. In 1394 as well as doubtless on several other occasions, the annual provincial chapter of the Dominicans was held at Canterbury, the ceremonial attending which is set forth at length in Thorne's Chronicle of St. Augustine's Abbey. The citizens of Canterbury made many small bequests to this friary in their wills, and some of them obtained the privilege of burial in the church or churchyard. This convent of Dominicans was dissolved on December 14, 1538, when the house and lands were

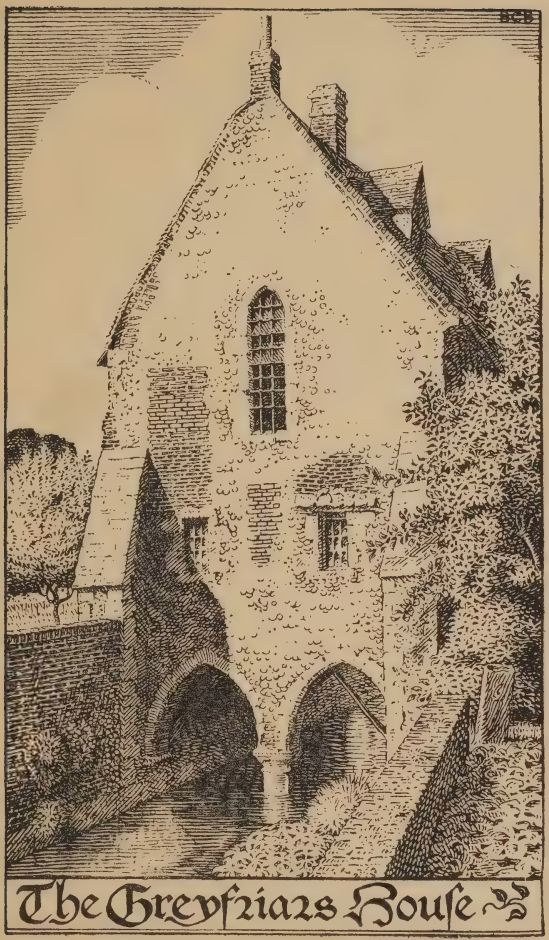
let by the Crown to a diversity of tenants. A valuable drawing, made in 1595, is extant, which shows the disposition of most of the conventual buildings, as they had not then been destroyed. The convent had three gates: one, which was private and led to the prior's dwelling, faced the street by the church of St. Alphege; the second was by the waterlock; whilst the third and principal entrance was through a beautifully constructed gateway in St. Peter's Street. This last gateway was pulled down in 1787. The 'Friars Way' from this gate passed by a bridge over the river, and thence turned to the left along 'the waie to the church.' The long church, with nave, aisles, and quire under one continuous roof, was entered by a western porch; it stood on the east side of the river, forming the south side of the cloister, with a large churchyard on its south side. The other three sides of the cloister were completed by the friars' dwellings and offices, having the refectory and kitchen on the west by the river-bank, and the chapter-house on the east. On the island was a large edifice with outbuildings, which was probably in the main a guest-house; two bridges connected the island with the main block of the conventual buildings. After changing hands repeatedly, the Blackfriars was purchased in 1658 by Peter de la Pierre, a surgeon from Flanders, who afterwards became naturalised by Act of Parliament. This surgeon introduced Baptists into Canterbury, and assigned to them the old refectory (see tailpiece, Chapter XIII.) on the river's edge for their meeting-house. Since that

time the main part of the refectory has remained fitted up as a meeting-house, with the south end turned into a dwelling, where the chapel caretaker resides. In comparatively modern days this chapel has been transferred from the Baptists to the Unitarians, who still use it. In this chapel it is said that De Foe frequently preached. There is here a fine Bible of the year 1583. This considerable piece of the old Blackfriars, though seldom seen, is well worth a visit by those interested in the architecture of the past. It will be found that the main outlines of this refectory date about 1300, though showing traces of fifteenth-century alterations as well as later debasements. On the island there still stands a considerable part of the large building or hall, now used as a furniture store. This building is quite wrongly named by Murray and some imitative guide-writers, as the church of the Dominicans. Those who require further information as to this somewhat important house of the Friar-Preachers, are referred to the article by the late Father Palmer in vol. xiii. of *Archæologia Cantiana.*

The Grey Friars, or Brethren of St. Francis, did not arrive in England until 1224, three years after the Black Friars had landed and preached in Canterbury. But the Franciscans were the first of the mendicant orders to establish themselves in the metropolitan city; indeed, it is generally admitted that their first house was founded at Canterbury, and their second in London. The little band that first

landed and speedily found themselves in this city only numbered nine, of whom five were laymen and four clerks; but only one of the latter, Richard Ingworth, a Norfolk man, was in priest's orders. The brethren were lodged by the monks of Christ Church; three of the party tarried two days before starting for London, but the six others stayed at Canterbury, the one Englishman of that party, William Ashby, teaching his own tongue to his Italian brethren. They were lodged for a time at the Priests' Hospital, an appanage of Christ Church, and then Alexander, the master of the hospital, assigned to them a small plot of land and built them a wooden church or chapel. St. Francis d'Assisi was still living, and his new-born order was in the full fervour of their absolute beggary, and it was felt to be inconsistent to own even the land on which their buildings stood. The difficulty was overcome by permission to occupy houses or churches owned by others, on condition of paying some rent to the owners, were it only two or three fish. Hence it came to pass that the plot of ground, with its timber shelters and chapel, was made over by the Christ Church monks to the corporation or city of Canterbury, to be held by them for the use of the friars. John Diggs, an alderman of the city, translated these friars in 1270 a little way from their original site to the island in the Stour called Bynnewith. In the reign of Henry VII. this house was one of those that submitted to the stricter discipline of the revived primitive rule of this order, whose members were known as Friars

Observants. The Franciscans were popular in the city, and were the frequent recipients of small testamentary bequests. One of the largest of such bequests was that of William Woodland, of Holy Cross parish, who left in 1450 £5 towards the repair of their church, and five marks to the repair of their dormitory. Hamon Beale, who was mayor of the city in 1478, chose this church for his burial, and left the friars 40s. Among others buried in this church and churchyard were a considerable number of knights and distinguished persons of the district. The site of the priory, on its dissolution, was granted to Thomas Spilman; thence it passed to the Finch family, and from them in Elizabeth's reign to the Lovelaces, who resided here until 1629. When the drawing of the Blackfriars was made in 1598, as stated above, a gateway to the Greyfriars was shown in St. Peter's Street just opposite the gateway to the Blackfriars; but it is stated on the drawing or map that the way was blocked up. Beyond certain of the precinct walls that bound the left hand of a private alley, with a small thirteenth-century doorway leading to gardens on the south side of St. Peter's Street, and other portions in the garden at the back of the master's house of St. Thomas's Hospital, there is but little left of this priory, save for one important exception. This exception is the house that stands over one of the several branches of the streams of the Stour, and forms a bridge on to the island of Bynnewith. The graceful arches and slender pillars that rise out of the water present a most picturesque



The Greyfriars House

appearance, and are clearly of as early a date as the benefactor, Alderman John Diggs, who served the city as senior bailiff both in 1258 and in 1273.

Of the connection of the Greyfriars with the sad story of the Holy Maid of Kent, mention has already been made; Hugh Rich, the warden of this house, being executed as a traitor at Tyburn in 1534, with the Maid and other victims. In later days the house that stands so gracefully over the stream was for some little time the residence of Richard Lovelace, the Royalist poet (1618-1657), who has made his claim good to a lasting recognition in the literary history of England by at least one stanza of his poetry:

> 'Stone walls do not a prison make,
> Nor iron bars a cage;
> Minds innocent and quiet take
> That for an hermitage.'

This house over the water lies back from any public street, and can indeed only be seen on sufferance from private ground; but it is among the most charming of the 'old bits' of Canterbury. Alas! it is somewhat speedily going to decay, and our last two visits found it in a singularly offensive and malodorous condition.

There was no house of Carmelites, or White Friars as they were almost invariably called from the colour of their frocks, at Canterbury; but the Austin Friars were well represented. Curiously enough, these Austin Friars of Canterbury got the common name

of White Friars, and the site of their house sustains this tradition. The habit of the Austin Friars was white when about their house or within their own precincts; but always when they went abroad, and also when in quire, they wore over the white frock a gown and cowl of black material. Hence they were sometimes called, familiarly or in derision, 'magpies'; but it is most exceptional to find them designated as White Friars. The Austin Friars, or Friars Eremite, first came into England in 1252; but they do not appear to have taken up their residence in Canterbury until 1325. In that year Archbishop Walter issued his mandate to the commissary of the diocese, stating that the Austin Friars had built themselves a chapel, and on the festival of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin had rung a bell and celebrated Mass, and also received oblations due to the parish church, 'without licence from us or our chapter,' commanding him to hold an inquiry into the circumstances of the case, to put the place under an interdict, and to summon the friars to appear before him. These friars had obtained a house and its appurtenances in the parish of St. George, on the opposite side of the street to St. George's church, from one Thomas Bonynton, and had speedily erected there a church or chapel of their own with suitable buildings. A compromise was come to in the following year, by which the Austin Friars were duly licensed to remain there on condition of paying an annual pension of 9s. to the parson of St. George's. In 1344 the friars obtained a small addition to their

site, and a larger one in 1356, where they built their outer gate, paying yearly 2s. 4d. to the monks of Christ Church. This friary and its church does not seem to have been as popular with the citizens as those of the Grey or Black Friars; but there are a few bequests on record, such as ten marks from a widow, Amabilia Gobyon, in 1405, for the repair of their church wherein she desired to be buried. In the time of Henry VII. the house found a distinguished benefactor in Sir John Fineux, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, who spent £40 in repairing and adorning the church, refectory, dormitory, and precinct walls.

The site of this Austin house, still known as White Friars, occupied about five and a half acres within the precinct walls. Parts of the old buildings were used as a private house up to 1878, when the well-wooded grounds were purchased by trustees, and were utilised for the erection of the Simon Langton Schools, under a scheme of the Charity Commissioners—a most successful and well-endowed secondary school for boys (210), and girls (120). To accomplish this, various educational endowments of the city were consolidated to meet modern requirements, notably the old Blue Coat Schools, which were in their turn maintained out of the revenues formerly pertaining to the Poor Priests' Hospital, founded by Archdeacon Simon Langton, the brother of the great archbishop. Hence the name of this new foundation. At this date suitable modern buildings were erected in the centre of the site. Almost the only remnant

of the friary now to be seen is part of the walling, and a plain early fourteenth-century doorway on the left-hand side of the entrance to the school grounds from St. George's Street (headpiece, Chapter XIII.).

St. John's Hospital

# CHAPTER X

## THE HOSPITALS

~ The Black Prince's Well ~

ON the north side of Northgate Street stands the old Hospital of St. John the Baptist without the walls, founded by Archbishop Lanfranc in 1084 for poor, infirm, lame, or blind aged men and women. It was under the government of a prior, and its clear annual income was reckoned, in 1535, as £91, 16s. 8d. The grounds are entered from the street through a picturesque timbered archway of late fifteenth-century date, with chambers over it. The old walls enclosed a considerable area of ground. The principal remains of the original precinct enclosure are to the north-west of the chapel; here, too, are portions of the old early Norman buildings, with semicircular-headed windows and doorways, some of which have plain

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chevron mouldings rather poorly cut. The present chapel is a detached building, and is but part—and that much restored and almost rebuilt—of the original chapel. The west doorway is Norman and has the chevron moulding; it has been replaced in its present position. The circular font, two feet in diameter, *temp.* early Henry III., is somewhat remarkable; there are two projections to the bowl which have the appearance of pierced handles. The cover is a heavy example of Elizabethan or early Jacobean date. On the north side of the chapel is a built-up arcade of three arches; an aisle remained on this side until the eighteenth century. A contemporary board in the chapel records gifts by Archbishop Sheldon of £40 to repair the church of St. John's Hospital, and of £30 to repair a farm-house belonging to the same; also a bequest by will, in 1687, of another £100, 'which was partly expended upon repare and the residue distributed among the poor.'

The residential houses for the brethren and sisters are modern, and doubtless more comfortable than those that they succeeded. The block of buildings in the south-west corner of the large open court has fourteenth-century work about it, but is in the main two centuries later. Below is the kitchen and auxiliary offices, and above is the hall. The kitchen is not now used, but three old spits upwards of eleven feet in length, reminding us of those still used at St. Cross, Winchester, are still shown. The large hall is well worth a visit, though no longer

used for common meals save on the annual feast-day. Here are two great chests, one of thirteenth-century date and the other fourteenth; the latter is a very fine example. Among other interesting relics are three fine examples of mazer bowls, with silver mounts; some good old pewter, including a well-designed porridge-bowl and spoon; an old wooden alms-box with chain attached, that used to be fastened in the courtyard for donations; a fifteenth-century collecting-box with lid; some thin square wooden platters, of which there are similar ones at St. Cross, Winchester; and a round turned case, six inches in diameter, containing eight very thin plates of light wood, which probably served as special pittance platters for delicacies on festive occasions. Against the wall are some early framed charters pertaining to the hospital, the earliest of which is of the year 1348. In the hall there is also kept a sixteenth-century account-book, wherein the prior used to enter the accounts of the pittance money and other records of the house. The whole volume would well bear transcription. There are several quaint entries as to the admonitions administered by the prior, which show that scandal found its way within the walls. The following is a sample:—

'Note that Lawrence Wryght was admonished the xxviij daye of Maye the fyrst yere of Kyng Edwarde the vj$^{th}$ for sclannderyng of the prior Christofer Sprott and the pryors syster Margaret Forster for dwellyng yn to [two] tenements under on rofe.

Wyttnesses brother Wyllyam Pendleton, brother Wyllyam Kytson.'

Eastbridge Hospital, on the south side of St. Peter's Street, close to the East or King's Bridge, was probably in its origin a foundation of the time of Henry I.; but after the canonisation of St. Thomas the Martyr it became known by his name, having been re-established on a wider basis during his primacy. In 1202 an adjacent hospital, dedicated to Saints Nicholas and Katharine, was united to that of St. Thomas. Archbishop Stratford, in 1342, so materially added to the endowments that he is regarded as the second founder. Stratford's statutes provided that it should support pilgrims to the city, giving a preference to those who were sick. This hospital escaped confiscation in the time of Edward VI., when so much was swept away under the plea of 'superstition.' The parson and churchwardens of All Saints declared to the commissioners—either through ignorance, or more likely by a pious fraud to secure its preservation—that the chapel of this hospital was a 'parish church,' wherein all sacraments and sacramentals were ministered to the poor people thither resorting. The fact is, it was served by a regular chantry-priest at a stipend of £10, 6s. 8d., and therefore ought, from the odious provisions of the Act, to have been suppressed. A memorandum as to the purport, etc., of the hospital, as recorded in a visitation by Cardinal Pole in 1557, is to the effect that the house was bound to receive wayfaring and

hurt men, and to have eight beds for men and four for women, who were to remain a night, and more if unable to depart; the master of the hospital was charged with burial; twenty loads of wood were allowed a year, and 26s. for beer. In Queen Elizabeth's time the statutes were revised, whereby provision was made for a master, a schoolmaster, five in-brothers and five in-sisters, and as many out-brothers and out-sisters. Archbishop Whitgift enlarged the foundation by adding to it a school of twenty boys; the chapel, dedicated to Our Lady, where the sacraments had been celebrated for several centuries, was turned into a schoolroom. The hospital has, however, long since ceased to discharge any scholastic functions, but is still of much service to the aged and infirm. There is so much remaining of interest in the buildings of this hospital that it certainly ought to be visited. A stone arched doorway, flush with the side pavement of the street, gives access to the house. A step or two down descends into a low crypt beneath the chapel. From the further corner of this crypt is a flight of steps, broken through the masonry at some post-Reformation date, which leads into the old hall of the hospital. This hall, as well as the crypt or vaulted apartment on the ground floor, is of the style that prevailed in the first half of the thirteenth century, and is probably of a period anterior to the days of Becket. Against the wall at the end of this hall some interesting wall-paintings were discovered a few years ago; in the centre is an early well-executed representation of our Lord in

Glory, with the four evangelistic symbols at the angles; and to the right of this is a representation of the martyrdom of St. Thomas, in a later and ruder style. From this hall, doors lead respectively to the chambers of the old men and the old women. The chapel, which runs parallel with the street, is, with its roof, in the main of fourteenth-century date. Strange to say, this ancient house of God has no altar. There are a good many poppy-head ends to some of the old seats. The Commandments are in black-letter. On the wall is a list of masters of the hospital, from Ralph in 1200, to Alfred Butler in 1899. The bell over the chapel is now only used for tolling on the death of any member of the hospital.

The Poor Priests' Hospital (tailpiece of this chapter) was founded in 1240 by Archdeacon Simon Langton, the brother of the patriot archbishop. There must, however, have been an earlier foundation, for the master of the Priests' Hospital entertained the Franciscans here on their first arrival in the city in 1224, as already mentioned; but Langton put it on a better endowed basis, and definitely assigned it for the occasional and more lasting support of poor priests. Shortly after its foundation by the archdeacon, the abbey of St. Augustine granted the rectory of St. Mary of Stodmarsh to the hospital, and in 1271 the church of St. Margaret, Canterbury, was also assigned to it. The hospital, with its chapel dedicated to Our Lady, was rebuilt in 1373 by Thomas Wyke, the master. This hospital escaped the clutches of

both Henry VIII. and Edward VI., and was assigned by Queen Elizabeth to the corporation of the city of Canterbury. It was soon afterwards appropriated by the town authorities for use as a bridewell or house of correction, as well as for the support of a number of blue-coat boys, the children of poor townsmen. In 1729 an Act of Parliament was obtained for the better relief and employment of the poor of the city, when the hospital buildings were assigned for that purpose and it became the city workhouse. In recent years, however, it has been put to a variety of secular purposes, and now serves as a furniture store. The hospital stands between Stour Street and the river Stour; there is much remaining of the work of 1373, with later additions, though now considerably mutilated. The chapel has become a dwelling-house; the large east window is flush with the street; the king-posts of the roof can be seen in the upper rooms. The hall is now divided into two floors; the roof timbers are interesting, and the old mediæval bell, probably of 1373 date, still swings in the turret above.

On the right hand of the Dover Road, in the south-east suburb, not far from the nunnery of St. Sepulchre, stood the old HOSPITAL OF ST. LAURENCE, of which there are now no remains save in the walls of cottages adjacent to the site. The name lingers on in the title of Canterbury's famed cricket-ground. This hospital was founded in the year 1137 by Abbot Hugh II. of St. Augustine's, to serve for

leprous monks, or for the parents and relatives of monks of that abbey similarly afflicted. The establishment consisted of a warden, a chaplain, a clerk, and sixteen brethren and sisters; the senior of the sisters was usually termed the prioress. With the dying out of leprosy, the revenues, as was usually the case, got largely misappropriated. In 1567 it was reported that the prioress and sisters (the master and brethren had apparently disappeared) had leased the property to Sir Christopher Hales; the house was described as greatly decayed and used by only two sisters.

In the centre of Stour Street, at the corner of Hospital Lane, is MAYNARD'S HOSPITAL. The story of its foundation and subsequent augmentation and restoration is told concisely on three tablets over the principal doorway :—

'This house and chapel was founded by John Maynard for 3 brothers and 4 sisters anno domini 1317 in the 12 year of the reign of King Edward the second. This work was finished and the chapel repaired in the year of our Lord 1617 by Joseph Colf Esq. Alderman of the City of Canterbury and M. of this Hospital. Will. Gray M. 1776.'

'Leonard Cotton Esquire sometime Maior of this citie did place in this hospital 1 brother and 2 sisters w$^{t}$ yearly stipends forever according to his last wil and testament made in y$^{e}$ yeare 1605 whose charity is heer remembred by Joseph Colf M. of y$^{e}$ hospital.'

'This hospitall and chappell being decayed were

rebuilt from y^e foundation by the charitable contribution the Mayor and Alderman and many of the Freemen and inhabitants of this city and other worthy benefactors, A.D. 1788.

'John Beaumont Esq. Mayor, Ald^m Oughton Chamberlain, Ald^m Wilson Master.

'Ald^m Richard French Master, 1807.'

The present hospital, *temp.* Queen Anne, consists of a low range of single-storey tenements, with a small chapel in the centre, close to the street. Here is a black-letter rare edition of Cranmer's Bible, 1553. The chapel has no altar; the seats or stalls face each other. There is service here on Wednesdays conducted by a clergyman, and prayers are read on Fridays by the senior bedesman, who is termed the prior.

In Northgate Street, near to the barracks, stands JESUS HOSPITAL, founded by Sir John Boys, who died in 1612, and to whom there is a monument in the cathedral. It was founded for a warden, who has a house to himself, seven poor brothers, and four poor sisters. The apartments of the brethren and sisters form three sides of a small square, the fourth side has a dwarf wall with steps and a gate from the street. The red-brick buildings have a picturesque tone and appearance. The chapel is in the centre; over the doorway is inscribed: 'Sir Jhon Boys Knight Founded This Hospitall anno 1595.' The framed rules, as printed in 1887, are quaint reading. No. 1 says that 'No Brother or Sister is to keep any

ale-house within or without the Hospital,' and No. 13 states that 'No domestic animal shall be kept by any Brother or Sister, save and except the Cat.'

There yet remains to be noted one hospital of much interest and antiquity which, although outside the liberties of the old city, is so closely allied in every way with Canterbury that it would be quite unreasonable to omit it. The ancient Hospital of St. Nicholas was founded at Harbledown, a mile and a half outside the city on the London road, by Archbishop Lanfranc, for the support of leprous men and women, who were maintained in separate houses. The endowments of this hospital were materially increased by future archbishops; the annual income was about £100 in 1535, in addition to the stipend of the chantry-priest who served as chaplain. The whole of the old buildings, rebuilt in 1674, which consisted of two blocks of six chambers each with a hall in the centre, have disappeared; and modern houses (doubtless more comfortable for the inmates) have taken their place. In the hall are preserved a variety of interesting relics, including a fourteenth-century chest, fifteenth-century fire-dogs, several valuable early mazer bowls, many pewter dishes and vessels, and a small turned money-box, with chain, much resembling the one at the Hospital of St. John, Northgate. When Erasmus visited this hospital with the choleric Colet, he dropped a coin into the alms-box. There can be little doubt that the one

now in the hall is that which received the great scholar's offering; it was at that time fastened to a tree near the hospital gate. Allusion has already been made to the 'Black Prince's Well' (headpiece of this chapter) near this hospital. Near to the hospital buildings stands the old parish church of St. Nicholas, Harbledown, which is of considerable size and interest. It is shown to visitors by the senior bedesman of the hospital who is termed the prior. The church is explained after a fairly intelligent manner, but all that is said about lepers worshipping there must be discarded as baseless. This church never was the chapel of the old leper hospital. It was as distinct a parish church as any in the land, and no leprous person would have dared to set a foot in it. There is superabundant proof of this, and that the old hospital chapel was within the hospital buildings.

There were two parish churches at Harbledown, St. Nicholas and St. Michael, on different sides of the highway.

This church (of St. Nicholas) is a building of some picturesqueness, and of varied architectural interest, consisting of chancel, nave, north and south aisles, with tower at the west end of the north aisle. The church was originally of plain Norman design, and had merely a small chancel and nave, of which the small west doorway, with a single moulding round it, probably formed part. Somewhat later in the style, in the twelfth century, it was decided to enlarge it by the addition of a north aisle separated

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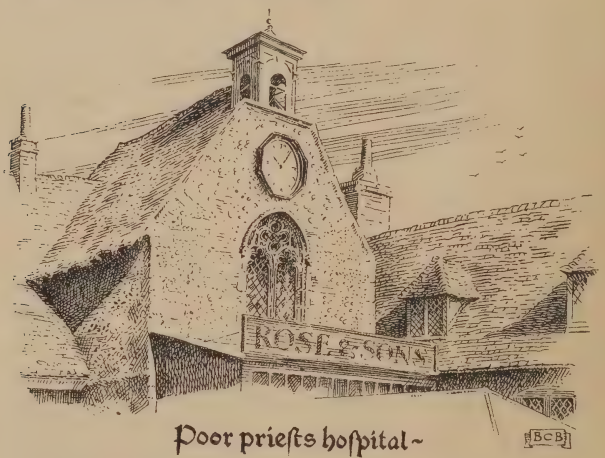
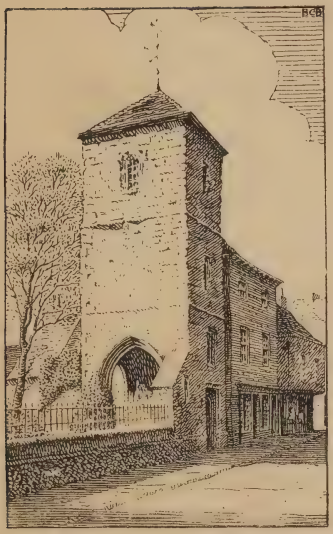
from the nave by an arcade of three semicircular arches. The two semicircular arches nearest the east, with the octagon pillar between them and the responds at each end of the arcade, are Norman of this date. The pointed arch and pillar nearest the nave are of the fourteenth century, and doubtless represent a bit of rebuilding necessary to sustain the stress of the tower. The small unbuttressed Norman tower was raised over the western bay of this aisle; the respond of the supporting arch in the north wall shows the original moulding. The wall-paintings, two old thirteenth-century seats, and the fifteenth-century font are all noteworthy.



# CHAPTER XI

## THE CHURCHES



ST·MARY·MAGDALEN·BURGATE

AS St. Nicholas, Harbledown, was the last of the hospitals considered, it may be well in a brief survey of the city churches (other than the cathedral) to begin with ST. DUNSTAN, which is passed on the right-hand side, where the road from London makes a turn to enter by the West Gate. Though not, so far as we are aware, hitherto noticed anywhere in print, there is undoubted evidence that part of the present fabric is of pre-Norman date. At the north-west angle of

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the nave, where the chapel joins on to the body of the church, Saxon long-and-short work can be distinguished. On the north side of the chancel, below a lancet light, is some old masonry that may possibly be Saxon; but there can be no doubt as to that at the west end. There is no visible trace of Norman work, but there are architectural features remaining in the fabric which tell of the thirteenth and two following centuries. The little chapel affixed to the western bay of the north wall of the church, now used as a vestry, was built in 1330. It is absurdly enough insisted, by the showman of this locked-up church, that it was in this chapel that Henry II. stripped himself for his penitential walk through the streets of Canterbury to the martyr's shrine. Others equally foolishly persist in calling it a leper's chapel. In this chapel is an old thirteenth-century chest with a money-slot in the lid; the rounded cover is formed of the solid section of a tree trunk. A table here is formed of the sounding-board of the old pulpit. The font, under the tower, seems to be of the end of the fourteenth century, and has a good crocketed cover of the like date. The altar table (see tailpiece of this chapter) is a remarkable and most exceptional example of Elizabethan date. It is supported by nine legs of a plain bulbous character; there are three in a line in the centre, then a single one on each side of it, and two at each end. The altar is 5 feet 8 inches long; but it has two leaves or wings that draw out at each end, giving it when extended a total length of 10 feet 8 inches. These

leaves are an obvious addition of a later date, and would be added under the Puritan rule of the Commonwealth Directory of Publick Worship, when the participants at the love-feast would seat themselves round the extended 'board.' But the particular interest attaching to the church is the fact that the head of Sir Thomas More rests in the vault under the Roper Chapel, which is a red-brick extension eastward of the south aisle, restored in 1879. Margaret, the eldest and favourite daughter of the chancellor, married one of the Canterbury Ropers. For his steadfast opposition to the king's odious divorce, Sir Thomas lost his head on Tower Hill in 1535. For fourteen days the head of one of the most upright and conscientious men of the century remained exposed on London Bridge, when it was surreptitiously removed, and conveyed to his daughter. Margaret Roper eventually placed it in a niche of the Roper vault, behind an iron grate. The fact of its burial here had been almost forgotten, when in 1835, on the repairing of the church, the vault was opened, and the head was seen by several persons within a leaden box in a wall niche, but with an opening in front closed by an iron grate.

This church is possessed of a valuable and interesting series of early Churchwarden Accounts, extending from 1484 to 1580, papers on which appeared in vols. xvii. and xviii. of *Archæologia Cantiana.* Among the expenses of 1484 are 53s. 4d. for an antiphonar and 40s. for a missal, together with 12d. 'for makyng of a Lent cloth for the qweer.' Those who

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need convincing that wholesome whitewashing of the unpainted parts of church walls was not of post-Reformation origin will find, under 1490:

'Item payde to Wyllyam Ingram a bargayne peny for the whyte lymyng of our Churche, . . jd.

'Item payde to the same Wyllyam for whyt lymyng of the Churche, . . . . vjs. viijd.'

In a very full and elaborate inventory of the church goods, of the year 1500, occurs: 'j stremer of rede bokeram with a dragon of Saynt George therin and a rode banerstaff longyng thereto.' But those interested in such matters should refer to Mr. Cowper's annotated excerpts.

As the city is entered by the old West Gate, it is well to remember that on the summit of its predecessor, removed by Archbishop Sudbury, stood the church of the Holy Cross. When the archbishop rebuilt the gateway he obtained the site (by letters patent of 1380) immediately south of the gate, whereon to build a church of the like name; for it was a parish church, and it was necessary to provide the parishioners with a substitute. The plot of land granted for the purpose was only 46 feet by 22 feet; but this would give a larger space for a church than the mere top of a city gate. The present church, whose outer walls have been almost entirely rebuilt, consists of chancel, nave with side-aisles, and low tower at the west. The ceiling of the chancel has old panelling. The plain octagon font, of a good size, is the same date as the church; there is an elaborate lofty font-cover of later date. There are

four old seats in the quire. At the west end of the church is the life-sized painted bust of a man whose left hand rests on a skull, inscribed, 'In Memoriam Almundus Colfe.'

On the left-hand side of St. Peter's Street, as we pass through the city, is the church of St. Peter, so long neglected and disused, but restored to use and service by members of St. Augustine's College. The architectural history of the fabric has been somewhat obscured by the bad treatment it has received. The small square tower at the west end of the south aisle contains a large number of Roman tiles used up in its construction; it is of early Norman date, though subsequently altered. There is other obviously Norman work of a plain description at the west end. The font is a massive square (2 ft. 3 in.) of Bethersden marble, and is probably of the same period; a seventeenth-century font-cover is in a kind of vestry at the west end of the wide south aisle, and the elaborate ironwork and pulleys for its support in a small rubbish chamber under the tower. It is much to be desired that this handsome cover and iron support could be restored. Over a covered shelter to the south doorway rests the elaborate late Renaissance tester of a once handsome pulpit of its kind. The pulpit itself is in the keeping of a gentleman in the county, who rescued it from a builder's yard, and would gladly restore it for re-use. The modern pretence at a pulpit is a naked thing of thin metal rods, surmounted by a wooden rail. At the east end of the south aisle, on the north side, is a

curious little rectangular niche formed of pieces of timber. On the north side of the altar is a handsome Easter Sepulchre recess, which goes through into the north aisle. Lack of space prevents any attempt at clearing up the architectural development of this somewhat interesting church, which so ingeniously adapted itself to a most confined and irregular site.

Over the King's Bridge, on the left hand of High Street, as the continuation of St. Peter's Street is termed, stands the church of All Saints; it consists of two aisles, a chancel, and a tower that carries a clock, but as it was most meanly rebuilt in 1832 in light-coloured bricks, and has nothing of interest within it, it is merely distinguished in Canterbury as the one church that may with advantage be neglected. It is now used as a Sunday-school for St. Alphege's, to which church All Saints is united.

Proceeding further to the south-east, it will be found that High Street changes it name to St. George's Street, and here on the left-hand side will be noticed the church of St. George, which stands close to the site of the old gateway of that name. There is a Norman west doorway under the tower. The tower, which is at the west end of the south aisle, is probably chiefly Norman; it is unbuttressed. There is some interesting late fourteenth-century work at the east end of the south aisle. The most noteworthy feature of this church is the font at the east end of the nave, which is of unique arrangement. The bowl, which is a shallow octagon, rests on seven

slender shafts, the flat capitals of which project some little way beyond the bowl that they support. It is of thirteenth-century date, and has a plain domed cover of the seventeenth century. A brass plate at the west end of the north aisle states that the church of St. George the Martyr was enlarged, by the addition of a north aisle and chancel, for the joint accommodation of the parishioners of St. George's and St. Mary Magdalene's, in 1872. The body of the church of St. Mary Magdalene was at that time pulled down, and the arcade between the north aisle and nave of this church is mainly removed work from that fabric.

Continuing on through the well-built superior houses of St. George's Place, and up the Dover Road, a turn through the fields to the left brings us to the famed church of St. Martin's-on-the-hill, to whose early history as the place of worship of Queen Bertha reference has already been made. The age of the fabric has been discussed, but special attention should be paid to the highly remarkable font. It is tub-shaped, and consists of a rim, three tiers, and a base. The diameter of the basin is 1 foot 10 inches, and the height 3 feet 1 inch. The three tiers are made of twenty-two distinct stones, rounded externally and all ingeniously fitted into their proper place. The lowest tier is carved in scroll work, and the second in groups of intertwining circles; whilst the top one is of quite a different character and ornamented with intersecting arches. The age of this font has given rise to much discussion and controversy. The inter-

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secting arcade work looks distinctly advanced Norman, but the sculpture of the two lower tiers is just as characteristic of Saxon work. The Norman carved work may have been subsequently added. It is just possible that parts of the font were used at Ethelbert's baptism, in accordance with the ancient and at one time fairly maintained tradition. Our own theory, long held but never before advanced in print, is that the Saxon font (tailpiece, Chapter II.) in which, or by the side of which, Ethelbert was baptized, and naturally greatly prized, was broken by some accident such as a fall of part of the building, or by some sacrilegious miscreant; and that then, towards the end of the twelfth century, it was carefully repaired by Norman artificers, and one much broken tier almost entirely renewed or recarved. At all events, there is no other font in the united kingdom, and so far as is known in all Christendom, constructed of a variety of fragments save that of St. Martin's, Canterbury.

Returning to the city by way of Longport Street, and entering Church Street, the church of ST. PAUL'S will be found abutting St. Paul's Street on the left. The church, though much restored, has some thirteenth-century work remaining. A good early thirteenth-century font of Purbeck marble has quite recently been discarded in favour of a somewhat vulgar modern successor. The bowl of the old font remains at the east end of the south aisle. There are brasses to George and Katherine Winburne, 1431.

The modern Roman Catholic church of St. Thomas the Martyr, on the left hand of Burgate Street going

towards the cathedral, is a somewhat handsome, showy structure of Kentish rag with Bathstone dressings; it is worth visiting to see the beautiful shrine of St. Thomas, which is a fairly successful attempt to reproduce certain features of the original world-renowned shrine which formerly stood in the cathedral.

Beyond this, again, on the left hand, is the tower (built in 1503) of the church of St. Mary Magdalene (headpiece of this chapter), the body of which was pulled down in 1872; some of the old monumental tablets, and an octagonal font, stand under the tower.

Passing the entrance gateway to the cathedral, and going through Sun Street into Palace Street, the interesting church of St. Alphege (headpiece, Chapter vi.) will be noticed at the angle of the latter street with a street called after the church. There is a trace of Norman twelfth-century work on the face of the westernmost pier of the north arcade. The church was recast in the thirteenth century, when the tower was built, and the chancel extended eastward, deflecting to follow the line of the street; to this period belong the tower arch, and the priests' doorway, and several lancets of the chancel. The west window of the nave is a fine example of the fourteenth century. The church assumed its present form in the fifteenth century. The works were in progress in 1468, when Thomas Prude left by his will 'as much as will build a pillar in the church.' This pillar is the second from the west end, and a thoroughly good specimen of work in Kentish rag; it bears, on the western face, a small niche and the coat-of-arms on a brass shield of

the donor, with the words, *Gaude Prude Thoma per quem fit ista columna.* The other windows of the church are of this date and excellent of their kind. The well-designed font is also fifteenth century; it has a good cover with handsome iron crane or cantilever of somewhat later date. The rood-loft must have been a great feature of this church; it went right across the nave and Lady Chapel and had a stair turret at each end. The northern stairs remain; they were gained through a richly treated doorway. Somner gives a most interesting English rhymed inscription, which was extant in his day, recording the gifts of John Caxton and his wife, in 1485, to the church. They gave new seats and desks for the church, with an antiphonar and a painting of the martyrdom of the patron saint, and many other benefactions, among which may have been the rood-loft. A small fragment of the Caxton work in carved oak, giving a rebus of their name, is embodied in the new fittings of the chancel. In the chancel is a brass, with small effigy, to the memory of Robert Gosebourne, rector of

Penshurst, who died in 1523. Henry Gosebourne, his brother, who died in 1522, was four times mayor of Canterbury, and was the father of twenty-five children. St. Alphege's is the best restored of the churches of Canterbury, where there has been so much done of a wholesale character; the work was done by Mr. R. H. Carpenter in 1888.

St. Mary's Northgate stands at the entrance of Northgate, on the left-hand side. It was rebuilt here in 1830, the old church being over the Northgate (tailpiece, Chapter VI.). Externally it is mostly of red brick, and looks uninviting, and is only occasionally used. But the interior is well fitted and has a few features of age and interest moved here from the old church. In the north wall is a square-headed, three-light, fifteenth-century window, with a niche for an image in the eastern jamb, and having a small quantity of old painted glass in the upper tracery. There is another two-light window, *temp.* Edward I. Against the north wall is a brass to Ralph Brown, who was mayor of the city in 1507. It represents a civilian kneeling at a desk with a label bearing the legend, 'O Mother of God, have mercy on me,' and the following stanza:

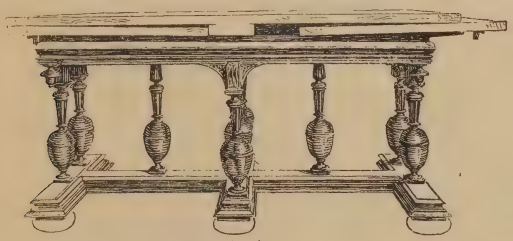
> 'All ye that stand oppon my corse
> Remember but raff brown I was
> Allder man and mayur of thys cete
> Jesus upon mi sowll have pete.'

The parishes of St. Margaret, St. Andrew, and St. Mary Breadman were ecclesiastically united in 1888. The site of the old church of St. Mary

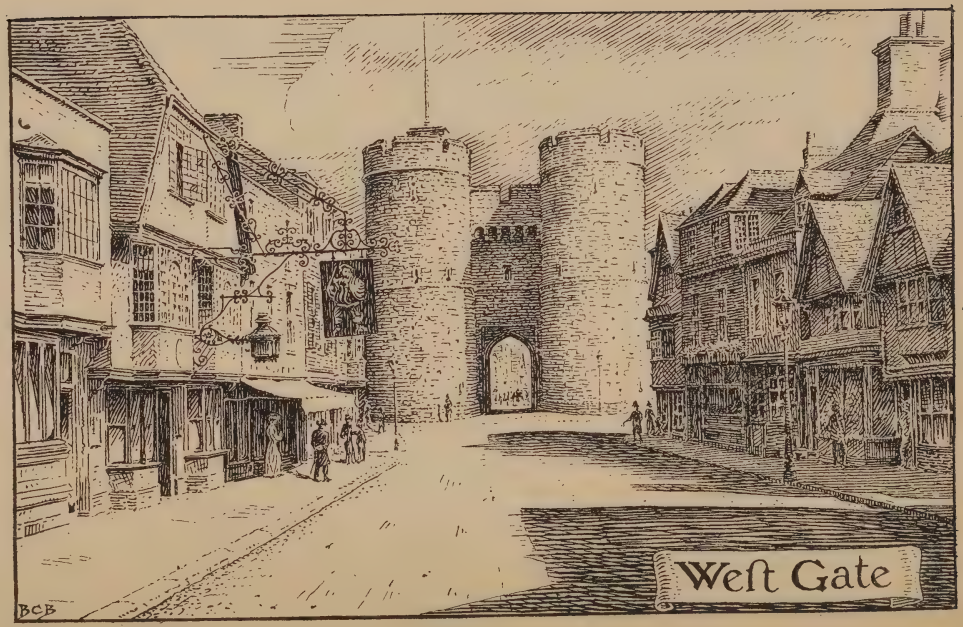
Breadman (said by Sumner to be so called from its nearness to the Bread-market) in the High Street is now planted with shrubs. The rebuilt St. Andrew's, also in the main street, has been utilised as a Sunday-school for the three parishes. The church of St. Margaret stands in the street of that name a very short distance from the High Street. This church was ably though extensively restored in 1861; the ingenuity with which the apse of the chancel and the eastern terminations of the two side aisles were all extended flush with the curve of the street, excited the admiration of Archbishop Benson, who visited Canterbury for the first time in 1862, and kept an interesting journal of his impressions. Part of this journal may be seen in a library case of St. Augustine's College; it is open on the page where the future archbishop made a pen-and-ink outline of the triple termination of this church eastward. The lofty arcades each side of the nave are of fourteenth-century style. Over the octagon font is a handsome modern font-cover of brass. At the east end of the south aisle is the marble effigy of George Norman, D.C.L., 1627. He is represented in gown with ruff, in a reclining attitude with head supported on one hand; it is a good monument of its kind. The tower is over the west bay of the south aisle. It is pleasant to note that all the seats of this church are unappropriated as well as free, and that every seat is cushioned and hassocked alike.

Only one more old church remains to be noticed, namely, that of St. Mildred, which stands near the

castle at the south end of Stour Street. Here was a small religious house or monastery in Saxon days. Mention has been already made of the undoubted pre-Norman architecture that can be traced at the west end of the nave. Roman tiles and large blocks of oolite are to be readily noticed in the fabric, particularly on the south side. The church consists of nave, north aisle, chancel, and south chancel chapel. There are windows of thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth century dates. The octagon font has a low crocketed cover with pulley. The tower was demolished and the bells sold in 1832; it was restored in 1861. The well-built chequered flint-work of the south chapel of Tudor date should be noticed. Among the monuments is one to Thomas Cranmer, nephew of the archbishop. In this church Izaak Walton was married to Rachael Floud in 1620. To this parish church is annexed the adjacent parish of St. Mary de Castro, the church of which has been demolished, but the churchyard remains.



The Altar at St Dunstan's


West Gate
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## CHAPTER XII

### THE CASTLE, WALLS, AND GATES

THE castle of Canterbury (tailpiece of this chapter) has now no special attractions, and is often quite overlooked by visitors to the metropolitan city. Nevertheless, it at one time played a most important part in local history, and was one of the finest town fortresses in England. It stands at the south-east angle of the town, near to the London, Chatham, and Dover Railway Station. Only the shell of the Norman keep now remains, and it serves as a coal store for the gas works. The condition of the castle is a distinct and grave discredit to the city; it has been sadly maltreated during the past half century. Earlier in the nineteenth century, when the outlying buildings

Canterbury

had mostly disappeared, from being treated as a handy quarry for wrought stone, the corporation actually decided to demolish the Norman keep for a like purpose; but the workmen found the stones of the walls, which were 11 feet thick, so firmly cemented that their destruction was abandoned, on the utilitarian ground of being too expensive. There was a castle at Canterbury, when the Domesday survey was taken, some twelve or fourteen years after the Conquest. At that time the castle had been assigned to the Crown, by way of exchange, by the archbishop and the abbot of St. Augustine. The Conqueror would almost certainly establish a strongly fortified fort at this city, where the coast roads for London and the north met, as soon as was practicable after the battle of Hastings. Most probably this early Norman work would merely consist in strengthening and renewing the stockaded earthwork of an earlier castle. It is not known when the massive Norman keep, of which so much of the shell remains, was begun, and it probably took many years in building, through the unsettled state of the kingdom; but it was finished about 1125 by William of Corbeuil, archbishop from 1123 to 1136. This square keep is of the same character as several other English examples of these massive Norman forts; it is the third largest that remains, the only two that exceed it in size being those of Colchester and Norwich. Its area is 88 feet by 80 feet, and, although shorn of its towers at the angles, retains a certain dignity, notwithstanding its evil uses and squalid surroundings.

The arched windows of the third storey are those of the chief or state apartments. The forebuilding, which contained the well-defended entrance and stairs to these rooms, was on the north side, where a bricked-up archway, high in the wall, points to the principal entrance. The castle buildings were strengthened and enlarged by Henry II., and again about 1300. The whole area of the castle, as enclosed and fortified in Edwardian days, covered five acres. The basement was used as a gaol for prisoners as early as the reign of Edward II. According to Lambarde, it was for a considerable period the chief gaol of the county. At the close of the sixteenth century the castle ceased to be a prison. The assizes for Kent were held here on several occasions in Elizabethan days. Reference to stirring incidents in connection with the story of this castle, that occurred in the years 1216 and 1381, has been already made in the general history.



The Dane-John—a variant of the more usual Donjon—the great earthen rampart just within the walls, to the east of the castle, is of prehistoric origin; but doubtless used and altered to add to the city defences from an early period. There was formerly a manor attached to the castle, called the Donjon Manor, of which the grounds now termed Dane-John formed a part. In the thirteenth century this manor became separated from the Crown rights over the castle proper, and for several centuries the citizens claimed common rights over it for amusement and exercise. The mount of the Dane-John was fashioned into its

present shape by Alderman James Simmons, in 1790, when the mound was raised to a height of 80 feet, and crowned with an obelisk commemorating the benefactor (tailpiece, Chapter III.). Alderman Simmons not only constructed winding walks up the hill, but laid out the land below in plantations and avenues, and raised a terrace 12 feet wide, which runs for over 600 yards on the top of the rampart of the old city wall, passing in its course four of the old circular watch towers. The last time the Dane-John was associated with defensive purposes was during the great Civil War, when several heavy cannon were placed there. The corporation had to pay for broken glass on several occasions, when these big guns were practising.

The Walls and Gates of mediæval Canterbury remained fairly perfect until the beginning of the nineteenth century. In the time of Richard I. the city was encircled with a wall and moat, and strengthened by twenty-one towers or turrets at equal intervals. Subsequently the enclosed area and consequently the number of the towers were increased. The remains of the walls are considerable on the east and south-east sides of the city, namely, in a rough kind of semicircle, beginning at Castle Row opposite the L. C. and D. Railway Station, and ending at the beginning of Northgate. The best idea of their former strength and height is to be gained from Lady Wootton's Green, a well-planted little public garden opposite to the great gateway into St. Augustine's College. The Green was named after the widow of Lord Wootton, the owner of the abbey in early

CATHEDRAL & CITY WALL

Stuart days. From here a considerable stretch of the city wall in fairly good condition, with a projecting semicircular tower, can be seen without intervening obstruction.

Canterbury retained the whole of its seven old outer gates longer than any other English mediæval town; but all of them have disappeared save the entrance from the London road called West Gate. This well-placed and effective gateway was considered by far the most important entrance to the city, as through its portals passed the largest and most continuous stream of pilgrims. The old Norman gateway on this site, crowned with the little church of the

Holy Cross, was taken down, and the present one built by Archbishop Sudbury, in 1380. Whether viewed from outside or inside the city, this well-built gate, with its circular flanking tower, presents a handsome and dignified appearance. The chamber over the actual gateway was for a long time used as a town prison; and within it is a small strong-room of massive timbers and iron clamps, for the close confinement of special criminals, and used at a later date as the

condemned cell. The walls are decked with old leg-irons and other barbarous forms of extinct prison torture. A modern building to the immediate north of the gateway, erected in 1829 for the better accommodation of prisoners and now serving as the city police station, is connected with the upper part of the gate by a small covered passage, which looks like one of those compressible gangways between the carriages of a corridor train, and is a decided disfigurement. The inner side of the best fourteenth-century town gateway extant in England is also somewhat spoilt by a considerable amount of encircling iron gas-piping, left there, we suppose, to be ready for any sudden call for illumination. It is difficult, too, to understand why high iron railings should protect coarse elder bushes, the most malodorous and graceless of English undergrowth, in the angles on each side of the entrance from the east. If the railings, ugly in themselves, are necessary, could not native evergreens, yew or holly, take the place of these rank elders? About the year 1850 the West Gate very narrowly escaped destruction. Wombwell, the well-known menagerie showman, was about to visit the city, and make one of his advertising processions through the streets. He found this gateway too low and narrow for his huge caravans, whereupon he had the effrontery to petition the corporation to remove the obstruction. A resolution in support of Wombwell's proposition was moved and seconded, and the voting was actually even, when the mayor happily saved Sudbury's gate by his casting vote.

Canterbury

West Gate seems now safe from removal, as the street makes a circuit round it on the south side, so that only one stream of the traffic goes through the old portcullised gateway.

The older mediæval way through Canterbury, from west to east, made a slight detour to sweep by the cathedral, and the earliest eastern gate was that of Burgate (headpiece, Chapter v.) at the end of the street of that name. It was at one time called St. Michael's Gate from a church of that dedication which used to stand near to it. It was rebuilt of brick in 1475. The gateway and one tower were cleared away to give greater space towards the close of the eighteenth century; and in 1822 the north tower was taken down to secure the further widening of the street. Three stones bearing the names of John Franingham, John Nethersole, and Edmund Minot were at that time preserved and placed in the wall close by; they were chief benefactors to the good brickwork of 1475. The other old eastern gate was further south at the end of the old Watling Street; it was on the site of one of the ancient Roman gates, and gave access to the city from the old Dover Road. It was usually called Ridingate (tailpiece, Chapter v.); it was of a simple early character, and was most unfortunately cleared away as late as the 'eighties' of last century.

Between Burgate and Ridingate there was a third entrance on the east side of much later origin. This gateway, called Newingate, was erected in 1470 (tailpiece, Chapter vi.) to afford a connection with

the new Dover Road, which gave a shorter route than by the old road through Burgate. It was sometimes called St. George's Gate because of its nearness to the church of that name. This gateway was pulled down in 1801 to supply the corporation with building material on the cheap. Old prints show that it was a fine building with circular flanking towers, and evidently constructed to tally with the older West Gate.

Through the North Gate (tailpiece, Chapter viii.) the city was entered by the road from Reculver and the Isle of Thanet. It was here that the mayor met the kings when returning from across the seas by this route, and presented them with the keys of Canterbury. Over this gateway stood the interesting church of St. Mary, a building of some little size, and chiefly dating from *c.* 1300. It was pulled down about 1830.

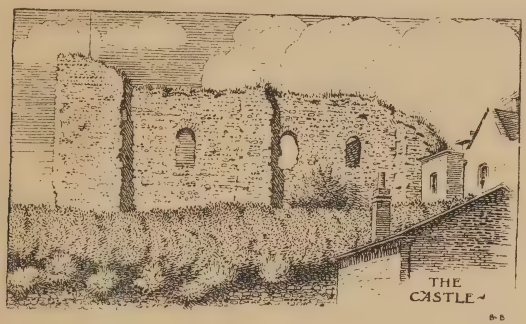
The south entrance to the city was through Worthgate (headpiece, Chapter i.) the oldest of all the gates. It stood close to the castle, and in fact passed through the bailey. It was a single arch in a massive wall, and has been supposed by some antiquaries, judging from drawings and descriptions, to have been of Roman origin; at all events, if of later date, much Roman material had been used in its construction. In order to avoid a detour through the castle bailey, Wincheap Gate was built, at the end of Wincheap Street, in comparatively modern days. The name implies that here was held the wine market. Both these south gates have been demolished, the latter to improve public traffic.

Canterbury

It remains to add a few words to that which has been already said about the postern exit of Queening Gate, through which Queen Bertha was wont to pass to her devotions at St. Martin's. William Sumner, who dedicated his *Antiquities of Canterbury* to Archbishop Laud in 1640, gives an interesting account of how by careful measurement he was able to find the ancient gate, after 'searching as narrowly for it as for ants' paths. It must needs have stood near the place of the now postern gate against St. Augustine's. And, indeed, a remnant of British bricks laid and couched archwise at a place in the wall a little northward of the postern shows the very place.' The postern gate mentioned by Sumner is still extant. Then, as now, it was gained by a private passage opposite the north-west corner of Lady Wootton's Green, which leads to the gardens of the deanery and to the canons' houses within the precincts. The recent book illustrative of Canterbury put forth by the corporation, under the excellent editorship of Dr. Sebastian Evans and Mr. Bennett-Goldney, F.S.A., says: 'Those who may wish to look on the very doorway through which the pagan king and Christian queen passed from their palace to "the several places of their private devotions" need not be wholly disappointed. If they will call at the second little house beyond the door of the private passage, and obtain permission to pass through into the garden, they will find in the city wall, between three and four feet from the present surface of the ground, a thin line of cement, evidently indicating the former

existence at this point of a semicircular-headed archway about two feet six inches wide. Immediately above the semicircular lines, the wall has at some time been repaired by a broad patch of modern English brickwork which effectually masks that portion of the old work; and although a few Roman tiles are visible above the patch, there are none near the arch.'

The Castle, Walls, and Gates



## CHAPTER XIII

### PUBLIC BUILDINGS

ENTRANCE TO AUSTIN FRIARS

THE old GUILDHALL has given place to the more commodious Council House of the city. The best among the older portraits is that of John Cogan, 1657, the founder of the almshouses or hospitals on the outskirts of the city, near St. Dunstan's Church; it was painted by the celebrated artist Cornelius Jansen, who lived for some time in East Kent. Other benefactors, whose portraits are hung here, are Leonard Cotton, 1605; John Whitfield, 1691; and

Elizabeth Lovejoy, 1694. The charter of Henry VI. conferred on the mayor of Canterbury the right to appoint serjeants of the mace, to carry their maces before him. The present fine mace took the place of an older one in 1688. The sword of state was authorised by James I. in 1607. Both sword and mace were 'regilded and amended' in 1721. Certain pikes, halberds, and matchlocks, with a small array of arms, which are preserved here, were brought to the Guild-hall from Lady Wootton's house at St. Augustine's in 1641, when Canterbury was being fortified and armed at the common charge. Public Buildings

The Beaney Institute in the High Street, though presenting an obtrusive frontage to the street which it is difficult in any way to admire, forms a convenient block of buildings for a variety of good purposes. Dr Beaney, a native of the city long resident in Australia, where he had accumulated a considerable fortune, bequeathed in 1897 a legacy of £10,000 to Canterbury, for the purpose of founding an 'Institute' for working-men in some central position. The present building was erected by the corporation in 1899. On the ground floor are spacious well-supplied reading-rooms, and the Free Library. Upstairs is a large gallery and various smaller rooms that form a museum of antiquities and natural history; the late Queen Victoria, in 1900, sanctioned the use of the word 'Royal' as applied to the collection, so that it is properly termed the 'Royal Museum.' It may be briefly said that the whole collection is, broadly speaking, remarkably

Canterbury

good, varied, and well arranged for a provincial town, and is worthy of the descriptive epithet. A particular attraction is 'St. Augustine's Chair,' a recent acquisition. This ancient rude wooden chair used to stand in the chancel of the church of Stanton Bishop, near Bromyard, Herefordshire, where it had for a long time been known as 'the chair of Augustine when he was in these parts missioning.' The story of how it came into the possession of Dr. James Johnston of Cheltenham, who had known the chair for forty years before purchasing it, is too long to be given here even in the briefest form; or the able arguments, which he marshalled in a small volume published by Cornish Brothers of Birmingham, in favour of the probability of the truthfulness of the old tradition. The writer of these pages had the honour, a few years ago, of exhibiting this ancient frame of woodwork to the Society of Antiquaries, where the Fellows received it with mingled expressions of faith, scepticism, and uncertainty. He was also the means of conveying Mr. G. C. Cocks Johnston's offer of the chair (after his father's death) to Canterbury Cathedral to Dean Farrar, and received four interesting letters from the late Dean on the subject. At first the offer was cordially accepted, and the exact place where it was to stand, near the Patriarchal Chair, decided. This acceptance was, however, subsequently politely withdrawn, chiefly owing to the strenuous opposition of a distinguished antiquary, who pressed his sceptical criticism on the Dean and Chapter. Dean Farrar's letters were marked 'private,' on account of a certain amount of

acrimony that crept into the discussion, but it can give offence to no one to quote one phrase from the last letter: 'I still remain, personally and in my private capacity, convinced that the probabilities of the truthfulness of the tradition as to the chair, as set forth in Mr. Johnston's book and strengthened by your statements and references, far outweigh the improbabilities. At all events, I am thankful to know that the chair is coming to Canterbury.' Canterbury citizens may fairly be proud of having secured this ancient chair for their museum. The two most eminent antiquaries that the city possesses, Dr. Sebastian Evans and Mr. Bennett-Goldney, F.S.A., have recently written: 'Nothing in its construction or state of preservation forbids the belief that it is in fact the identical chair in which St. Augustine sat during his conference with the Welsh bishops, on what was then the border of Welsh territory.'

In the central case of the south gallery is the ancient Burghmote horn, which used to be sounded, down to 1835, to call together the city fathers; and the mace of the extinct corporation of Fordwich, the old port of Canterbury. From the ceiling is suspended a well-wrought brass chandelier of twenty-four lights in two tiers, bearing the date 1739; it was discarded, by bad judgment, from the cathedral. In one of the large wall-cases is a good collection of Roman pottery, glass, etc., found in Canterbury and its immediate neighbourhood. In the lower part of this case two small Runic stones should be noticed. They were found near Sandwich. Professor Stephens considered that they were pagan and of the fourth

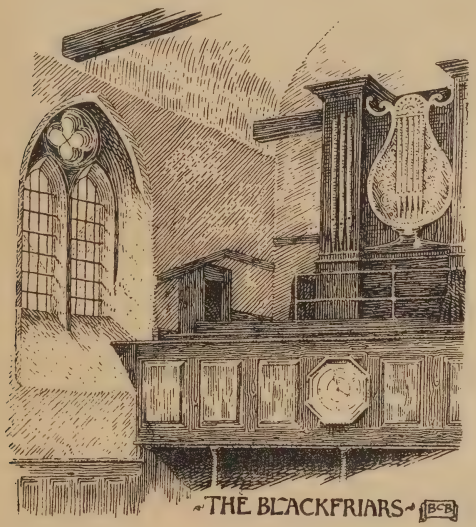
or fifth century, and the oldest funeral blocks ever found in this country that did not belong to a Romano-British population. The collection of the mediæval tokens of Canterbury pilgrims is considerable and varied. Other wall-cases contain well-arranged displays of old English pottery. A useful and valuable feature of the museum is a considerable gathering of rare Canterbury views and prints, displayed on circular revolving stands.

In Longport Street, to the east of the town, on the old Dover Road, stands the Kent and Canterbury Hospital. It was originally erected in 1793, chiefly through the exertions of Dr. Carter, a local physician of celebrity and formerly a Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford; it has since then been more than once extended and brought up to date. On the same side of the road, a little further on, is the Sessions House, a somewhat pretentious Doric building, erected in 1808. Beyond this is the County Gaol.

The house in which the celebrated artist T. Sidney Cooper, R.A., was born is on the north side of St. Peter's Street. This house, with the adjacent building rebuilt to form an art school, was presented by him to the city in 1882 as The Sidney Cooper School of Art, an institution affiliated to South Kensington, which has proved to be of the greatest possible service to local students. The veteran artist, who spent the greater part of his life at his house at Harbledown, was born in the cottage adjoining the School of Art, to which it forms a vestibule, in the small room with the latticed projecting windows. He was born on

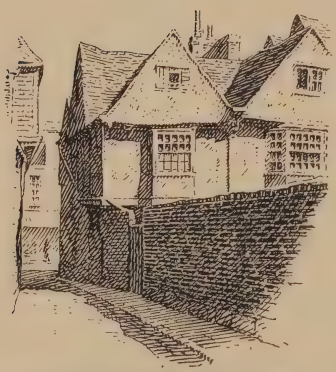
September 26, 1803, and died in his ninety-ninth year on February 10, 1902. No other artist has ever shown such remarkable powers right up to the close of a long life. He lies buried in St. Martin's churchyard. Two of his most important pictures are hung in the gallery of the Royal Museum, and there too may be seen his last work, with his palette and brush. Public Buildings

Canterbury is an important military centre. The range of Barracks, to the east of the further end of Northgate Street, for the accommodation of 2000 infantry, was erected in 1798. Since then barracks for cavalry and artillery, with a large military infirmary, and church and school, have been built at different periods in the same quarter.



## CHAPTER XIV

### DOMESTIC BUILDINGS



BIRTHPLACE OF MARLOWE
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THOUGH not possessing anything so attractive and quaint as the 'Rows' of Chester, nor any of the exceptionally fine examples of old town houses such as may be found at Yarmouth, Ipswich, Ludlow, Shrewsbury, Coventry, and the like, or of Norman domestic work such as may be seen at Lincoln, Bury St. Edmunds, or Southampton—Canterbury may fairly claim to have a larger survival of genuine mediæval and Elizabethan or Stuart work in the street houses than any other town in the kingdom. So far, this has not as yet been sufficiently studied either by artist or antiquary; but the patient, prying visitor—and he will find, if

himself polite, the Canterbury folk long-suffering and courteous—spending two or three days or a week in inspecting the fronts of houses large and small, and more especially their backs, among the narrow streets and lanes, will be surprised to find what a wealth of interesting remains and 'bits' the metropolitan city still possesses, though diminishing almost year by year through the demands of changed times and a busier life. Canterbury has, however, of late years awoke to the fact, that even from the commercial standpoint—though her celebrity for weaving, or for brawn and ales, has not died out—her chief claim to stand forth as a thriving community depends mainly upon the attractions of those old-world associations and historic memories which not only centre round the grey cathedral, the ancient abbey, the ruined friaries, or the time-stained churches and hospitals, but also round the old thoroughfares, byways, and hostelries which the great troops of pilgrims thronged, and which subsequently afforded shelter to bands of exiled Protestants. Her true 'trade,' if we mistake not, is to be very zealous in the preserving—not in the undue 'restoring'—of all relics of the past life of the most interesting city that Old England possesses; for it is these things that attract the growing stream of modern pilgrim visitors from the United Kingdom, and still more especially from the United States, and from the mother country's colonies right round the globe. Not only should the townsmen realise that it is to their common interest that beautiful order and fit repair should be main-

Domestic Buildings

tained in the cathedral and its precincts, that judicious excavations should take place on the ancient hallowed sites beyond St. Augustine's College, or that public efforts should be made to retain the fragments which remain of the Black and Grey Friars and the Poor Priests' Hospital; but also that it is of almost equal importance that the narrower streets and protruding gables or small-paned windows should be maintained, and not be cleared away (save under dire necessity) to give easier access to the motor-car of evil odour and repute, or to plate-glass frontages for modern-day display.

One of the most famous of all hostelries used to be the 'Chequers of the Hope' at the angle of Mercery Lane with the main street, the exact corner where the crowd of pilgrims that had entered by the West Gate turned aside to gain Prior Goldstone's entrance to the cathedral precincts. But, alas! though the name remains, the building was almost entirely destroyed by fire in 1865. Here they used to show a huge garret at the top of the house, that was said to be the much-used dormitory of a host of pilgrims who failed to secure hospitality in the great guesten-halls of the monastery. It will be remembered that Chaucer himself never names the hostel where his pilgrims dismounted, or got shelter, on arriving at their journey's end. His actual references to Canterbury itself are brief and disappointing. It is the writer of the *Supplementary Tale*, whoever he may have been, who first names the Chequers of the Hope; for it is there that he causes them to be conducted

by their host of Southwark. On their arrival in Canterbury— Domestic Buildings

'They took their inn and lodged them at midmorrow, I trow,
At the Chequer of the Hope that many a man doth know.'

Mercery Lane—the name (like that of Butchery Lane, the next narrow turning to the cathedral) reminding us of the days when all of one trade congregated together—has a peculiar charm from its very narrowness and lack of straight lines, as well as from the projecting character of most of the houses, several of which are certainly of fourteenth-century building, though altered much in Tudor, Elizabethan, or Stuart times.

In the High Street, on the opposite side to the Chequers of the Hope, is a building long known as the Crown Inn, which was erected by Prior Chillenden in the fifteenth century to help in the accommodation of pilgrims under the control of Christ Church, when the accommodation within the precincts failed to suffice. The basement is now occupied by shops; there are some good Tudor ceilings within. The window-frames of the first storey are of late Elizabethan style; the curious coloured floral and Bacchanalian designs on the front of the top storey are of the same period, and were probably placed there when the building assumed the character of an ordinary inn (tailpiece of this chapter). This house is sometimes, absurdly enough, called 'Queen Elizabeth's Lodging,' for Elizabeth certainly never sojourned within its walls.

Canterbury

In the courtyard at the back of the Fleur-de-lis Hotel, work may be noticed of early thirteenth-century date. The old houses at the angle of St. Peter's Street with the Stour, as it passes under Eastbridge, now occupied by the modern 'Canterbury Weavers,' though much restored are most picturesque, and are apparently fifteenth century with later alterations. The long rows of gables projecting over the narrow river, as seen from this bridge, form one of the many charming old-time 'bits' of the city. Opposite the exit from the South Eastern Railway Station, in St. Dunstan's Street, is a fine old house, said to occupy the site of one of the numerous pilgrim hostelries. The window arrangements are obviously after an Elizabethan design, and the house bears the date 1563 to note the time of its rebuilding (tailpiece to Chapter IV.). Turning to the right, up the rising ground of St. Dunstan's Street, the fine old brick gateway of handsome design, *c.* 1500, should be noticed. It used to give entrance to the mansion of the Roper family, which has, alas! been replaced by a modern and unsightly brewery. We must be thankful, however, for the preservation of this gateway, beneath which the good Sir Thomas More must have often passed when visiting his beloved daughter Margaret (headpiece, Chapter IV.). Returning through the West Gate, No. 37 St. Peter's Street should be noted, for it has been chosen as a typical illustration for Green's *Short History of the English People*, of the houses built by the French silk weavers. The shop was on the ground floor; the family

residence and the loom on the first floor, and the warehouse for the bales of raw material on the second floor. There are many houses still extant in Canterbury of this type, though the warehouse has been turned into a living room.

Domestic Buildings

Charles Dickens, in his *David Copperfield*, has immortalised some of the old houses of Canterbury; and great jealousy has sprung up as to the correct identification of rival houses that claim to be the home of Agnes Wickfield, 'the little hotel' that had the honour of entertaining Mr. Micawber, 'the 'umble 'ome' of Uriah Heep, or the shop served by the pugilistic butcher-boy. The fact is, that Canterbury is in the happy condition of furnishing several excellent types of each of these houses; the novelist himself, drawing on his reminiscences, had probably no intention of narrowly describing one particular dwelling; and far be it from us to attempt solutions of problems, the solving of each of which could but give pleasure to one, and offence to several.

Efforts have even been made to identify for certain the actual 'bulging house'; but though several have disappeared, almost exactly tallying with his delightful description, since *David Copperfield* was written, it is a pleasure to think that several more remain to whom this account might almost exactly apply:—

'At length we stopped before a very old house bulging out over the road; a house with long low lattice-windows bulging out still farther, and beams with carved heads on the ends bulging out too, so that I fancied the whole house was leaning forward,

trying to see who was passing on the narrow pavement below. It was quite spotless in its cleanliness. The old-fashioned brass knocker on the low arched door, ornamented with carved garlands of fruit and flowers, twinkled like a star; the two stone steps descending to the door were as white as if they had been covered with fair linen; and all the angles and corners, and carvings and mouldings, and quaint little panes of glass, and quainter little windows, though as old as the hills, were as pure as any snow that ever fell upon the hills.'

Space emphatically forbids any further detailed examination of the old houses of Canterbury; but some may be glad to have the names or numbers of one or two other houses well worth noticing for age or architectural structure. St. Dunstan's Street—The Falstaff; Nos. 89, 90, and 93. St. Peter's Street—No. 49, the King's Arms; house at angle of the Friary. North Lane—several overhanging houses, particularly on the right hand. St. George's Street—Nos. 57 and 58, corner of St. George's Lane, early work at back. Church Street—corner house at angle with Monastery Street. The old houses to be noted in Burgate Street, Sun Street, and Palace Street, on the south and east of the cathedral, are too numerous to specially mention; it should be remembered here, and elsewhere in the city, that the backs are often noteworthy where the fronts have been renewed. Here, by Prior Goldstone's Gateway, is a small open space, round which several quaint old houses cluster. This space has for some time been termed the Butter

Market, but used to be known as the Poultry. At an earlier date it was called the Bullstake, for here was the ring to which bulls were fastened to be baited after being duly chased. An old Canterbury writer alleges that this treatment of the bulls was 'by an ancient order and custom of the city used by the city butchers before their killing; not so much (if at all) for pleasure, as to make them man's meat and fit to be eaten.' In the centre there stood a Cross, which was hacked down by Commonwealth Puritans. Its site is now occupied by a classical memorial, with bronze semi-nude figure of the Muse of dramatic poetry, to celebrate the tercentenary of the Canterbury poet Christopher Marlowe. He was well worth commemorating, for his masterpiece *Doctor Faustus* was the crude original of Goethe's *Faust*; and at all events, the song of the 'Passionate Shepherd,' beginning

Domestic Buildings

'Come live with me and be my love,'

has not been forgotten; but a less incongruous site for this pagan monument might well have been chosen. Marlowe was born at Canterbury in 1564 (headpiece of this chapter). His father was a shoemaker of the city, and he received his first education at the King's School. He died a violent death at Deptford in 1593.

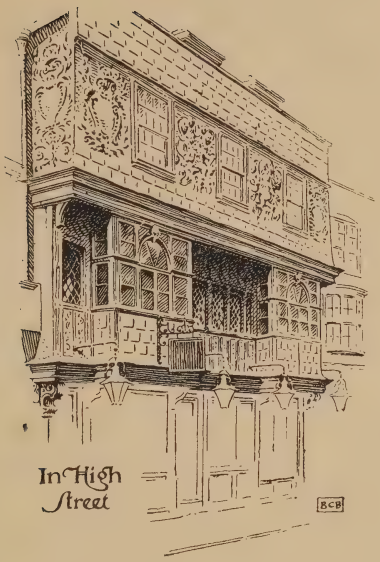
There are several old houses in private hands, that it would be unmannerly without special leave to identify, where there is a fair amount of delightful old panelling of late fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth

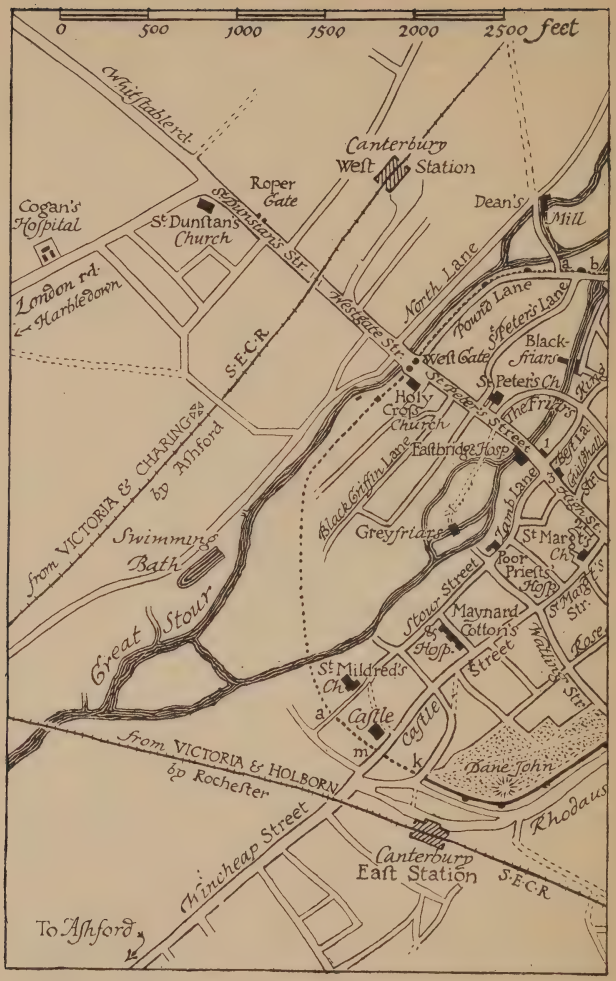
century dates, as well as some good early Georgian work. There are fully half a dozen notable examples in St. Peter's Street and St. Margaret's Street, where there is 'a wonderful old staircase,' commemorated by Dickens, which has 'a balustrade so broad that we might have gone up that almost as easily as the stairs.' As it is a house of entertainment—Baker's Temperance Hotel, a most comfortable sojourning place—mention may be made of the good acanthus-leaf frieze of a room on the first floor, with a shield over the door bearing 'Anno Domini, 1632'; there is also some good Tudor and earlier work at the back of this and the adjacent house.

It would be ungenerous to close this necessarily brief and insufficient chapter on the streets and houses of Canterbury and the ancient appearance that still clings to them to the delight of many, without expressing in a single sentence the keen appreciation that those who are but summer visitors to the city feel at the bright and cleanly look that it has of late assumed through the well-directed energy of its citizens. The almost continuous rows of flower-bedecked balconies on both sides of the main street, which traverses the city from west to east, add greatly to the charm of this historical thoroughfare; not only are they beautiful in themselves, but they in the main reproduce—perhaps unintentionally—the old scarlet-and-white colours of the metropolitan city, wherewith she decked herself in days of yore, to welcome the trains of pilgrims on festival occasions, when they came, as now, with hearts

full of thoughts of the striking life-story and still more startling death-scene of

St. Thomas the Martyr.




0
500
1000
1500
2000
2500 feet
Wincheap rd.
Canterbury West Station
Roper Gate
St. Dunstan's Church
Cogan's Hospital
London rd.
← Harbledown
S.E.C.R
Hollgate Str.
North Lane
Pound Lane
St. Peter's Lane
Black-friars
West Gate
St. Peter's Ch.
Holy Cross Church
St. Peter's Street
The Friars
Faithbridge Hosp.
Black Griffin Lane
Lamb Lane
Greyfriars
St. Mary's Ch.
Poor Priests' Hosp.
St. Mary's Str.
Stour Street
Maynard Cotton's Hosp.
Watling Street
St. Mildred's Ch.
Castle
Castle
Bane John
Rhodaus
From VICTORIA & HOLBORN by Rochester
Wincheap Street
Canterbury East Station
S.E.C.R
To Ashford
From VICTORIA & CHARING Cs. by Ashford
Swimming Bath
Great Stour
Dean's Mill

City Wall: remains of, towers of, Site of; thus
a Site of Postern
b Site of 3 Arches in the Wall
c Site of North-gate (St Mary's Ch: over)
d Site of Roman Quenin-gate
e Postern
f Site of Burgate
g Site of St George's or Newin-gate
h Bridge on site of Riding-gate
k Site of Wincheap-gate
m Site of Roman Worth-gate
1 All Saints' Church
2 Site of St Mary Bredman Church
3 Beaney Institute
4 Arch.Bp's Palace
5 Site of Whitefriars
6 Birthplace of Marlowe
7 Mercery Lane
8 Butchery Lane
Great Stour
To Margate & Ramsgate
Coldharbour Lane
Jesus Hosp.
Barracks
St John's Hospital
Northgate Street
Broad Military road
St Mary's Ch.
St Mary's Palace
King's School
Green Court
St Alphege's Ch.
Cathedral
Ch. Ch. Gate
The Oaks
Lady Wootton's Green
St Augustine's College & ruins of Abbey
Cemetery Gate
HOSPITAL
St Paul's Ch.
ruins of St Pancras' Ch.
GAOL
St Martin's Church
To Sandwich & Deal
Burgate St
Tower of St Mary's Ch.
St George's Ch.
St George's St
St Mary Bredin Ch.
Mercery Lane
Cattle Mkt.
Top Lane
St George's Pl.
Long port Street
Smith's Hosp.
Bridge St
Old Town
Dover Gate
Dover Str.
Hill
Church
Rd.
New Dover Road
To Folkestone & Dover
Nunnery Fields
To South Station
A Plan of the City of CANTERBURY
B.C.B.

T

# APPENDIX

## ITINERARY

Following the plan adopted in this series, descriptions will now be given of several routes through the city of Canterbury, indicating the objects of interest to be met with, and the pages of the book on which their description will be found. In this way the book readily adapts itself to the purpose of a guide. Far the best way to approach Canterbury is by the old high road from London through Faversham; when Harbledown is reached, the view of the city, with the entrancing centre of the Angel Steeple, grows clearer and more attractive with almost every step. This is the way by which cyclists and pedestrians usually reach the city, and it is far better than the sudden unshipment from railway cars, at either of the two stations, into a city so thick with memories of the past. So great is the gain through approaching the city by road, that all who can manage it are strongly urged to leave the train at Faversham, traversing the intervening eight miles by carriage or on foot.

There is an hotel yard in Canterbury, where special charges for the harbouring of motor-cars are prominently displayed; but whatever may be said in favour of the new method of locomotion, so popular with certain of the wealthy few, the presence of these throbbing, noisy, evil-smelling machines is eminently offensive to all, save the selfish occupants, in the narrow streets of old-world Canterbury. Surely motorists might be

induced to leave their cars outside the city, for their presence is a vulgar and irreverent anachronism.

It will be found convenient to divide these routes into four.

I. From Harbledown, past St. Dunstan's, entering by Westgate; and right through the city, in a straight line, to the end of St. George's Place.

On the right hand, near the bottom of the hill, is the hospital of St. Nicholas (pp. 245-6), the Black Prince's Well (p. 59), and the old parish church of St. Nicholas, Harbledown (p. 245). Near the top of the hill, on the left, is the parish church of St. Michael, Harbledown, which retains very few signs of antiquity. Following the road for about a mile, the western suburb of the city is reached. Note Cogan Hospital on the left, and a little further the church of St. Dunstan (pp. 247-50) on the right, where Henry II. dismounted and prepared for his barefoot entrance as a penitent pilgrim. St. Dunstan's stands at the junction of the London Road with that from Whitstable; and at the union of the roads, bending north to the right, St. Dunstan's Street is entered. On the left, as the slight hill is descended, note the old brick gateway to the Roper Mansion (p. 282), which in itself has given way to a brewery. The majority of the houses of this street are interesting; but note, more particularly, the one immediately opposite the turn to the South Eastern Railway Station (called Station Road); this house, rebuilt in 1563, used to be the Star Inn, a noted hostelry for pilgrims. Note also in this street the Falstaff Hotel on the left hand, and Nos. 89, 90, and 93 on the right hand. Then the imposing West Gate (pp. 265-8) is entered, and St. Peter's Street begins. Immediately to the right is the church of the Holy Cross (p. 250), which before the rebuilding of the West Gate in 1380 stood on the top of that structure. On the left hand the Sidney Cooper Art School, adjoining the cottage where the artist was born, is passed, and further on,

on the same side, is the church of St. Peter (pp. 251-2), a little way down St. Peter's Lane. The house at the angle of St. Peter's Street with the lane called the Friars should be noted. Just opposite to this, on the right-hand side, is a doorway (private) of No. 54, that leads into an alley, at the further end of which the remains of the Greyfriars and the thirteenth-century house over the stream can be seen (pp. 226-30). We now cross the bridge, sometimes called King's Bridge, and sometimes Eastbridge, over one of the branches of the Stour. The view to the left, with the gables of the Canterbury Weaver's house and other houses beyond it rising up straight from the water, is a picturesque and most unusual bit of English town architecture (p. 282). To the right is the low entrance to St. Thomas's Hospital (pp. 238-40). Here the straight continuation of the main street is termed High Street. On the left hand is the ugly white brick church of All Saints (p. 252), the tower of which is utilised to carry a useful town clock. A little higher up, on the same side, is the Beaney Institute and Royal Museum (pp. 273-6). On the opposite side of the way is Prior Chillenden's Inn, the upper storey of which is bright with floral and Bacchanalian designs (p. 281). Guildhall Street, Mercery Lane, and Butchery Lane are the three small streets on the left, all of which lead straight to the cathedral; but Mercery Lane (p. 281), the narrowest and most picturesque of the three, is the best to choose. At the angle of Mercery Lane stood the celebrated old hostelry of the Chequers of the Hope, of which only the name now survives (p. 280). Beyond Butchery Lane, the name of the main thoroughfare eastward again changes to St. George's Street. On the right hand is the entrance to the Whitefriars, now the Simon Langton Schools (pp. 230-3), and on the left hand is the church of St. George (pp. 252-3). Just beyond this church stood the old east gate of the city, usually known as St. George's Gate (pp. 268-9), pulled down last century. To the right hand is the cattle

market, held in what is really the old city ditch, just outside the walls. Here the continuation of the street outside the city, well built in red brick, with fair-sized houses about a century old, is termed St. George's Place. At the end of St. George's Place, comparative country begins on each side of the New Dover Road—'New,' but going back for its newness to well beyond Reformation days.

II. St. Martin's Church, past St. Augustine's, through Broad Street, up Northgate and back, and thence regaining High Street.

Starting from the point where the first route ended, a field-path from the New Dover Road, just before the railway crosses it, leads speedily to the superlatively interesting church of St. Martin's (pp. 253-4) and its beautiful churchyard. Thence down Longport Street, with the picturesque low row of Smith's Almshouses on the left, and the County Gaol, Session House, and Kent and Canterbury Hospital (p. 276) on the right. When past the hospital, take the first turn to the right, Monastery Street, and so to the great gateway of St. Augustine's College, noticing on the way the Cemetery Gateway, now a doctor's house (p. 221). At St. Augustine's it will be well not only to listen carefully to the able explanations of the Manciple, but also to purchase the 6d. guide sold at the porter's lodge; thus the somewhat intricate plans of the old abbey and the modern Missionary College will be mastered (pp. 209-21). On leaving the great gateway, turn sharp to the right and go up a lane (sadly muddy in wet weather) which leads to a small house on the right, where entrance can be gained to the great field in which are the excavations of the eastern part of the great abbey church and buildings of St. Augustine's, and of the very early church of St. Pancras (pp. 25-26). Returning to the front of the college, Lady Wootton's Green (p. 264) is traversed, with a clear view in front of the city walls and defences, with the cathedral beyond. On Broad Street being

gained, the curve of that thoroughfare, with the walls on the left, is followed until the lower end of Northgate is reached. Here, where the North Gate (p. 269) once stood, a turn is taken at right angles to proceed up Northgate. On the left hand is the charming entrance to the interesting buildings of St. John's Hospital (pp. 235-7). Further up the street, on the right hand, is the more modern but picturesque Jesus Hospital (pp. 243-4). Still further on, also on the right, are the range of barracks. Returning down Northgate, a visit to the rebuilt church of St. Mary's might be paid, to see the quaint brass and other remnants of the old church (p. 257). From thence pass along St. Radegund Street, and take the sharp turn to the right to the remains of the Blackfriars (pp. 223-6). Thence by St. Alphege Street to the church of that name (pp. 255-7), and so back by Palace Street and Sun Street to the main thoroughfare of the city.

III. The Cathedral Church and monastic buildings of Christ Church. There is far more to grasp, appreciate, and master on this site than on any other in England; both as to the life and work of a great monastery frequented by crowds of pilgrims, and as to the growth and monuments of the church fabric; so that at least a day should be given to this, undisturbed by visits elsewhere.

References to the pages of Chapter VII. and VIII. wherein the cathedral and the monastic buildings are respectively described, need not be here repeated; but for those who have not time to do more than accompany one of the verger-led parties through the restricted parts of the cathedral church, it may be well to give the route which is now always taken by the personally conducted groups of visitors. Every one is at leisure to examine the gateway into the precincts, the exterior of the building, and the nave of the church, as they please, and at their leisure. Then, after 6d. has been deposited in the box for the quire, and 3d. for the crypt, the visitor will be qualified to go the usual round, which is as follows: The great quire; the south-east

transept, the south quire aisle, and chapel of St. Anselm; the Trinity Chapel and the so-called 'Corona'; the north quire aisle and the chapel of St. Andrew; the cloister and chapter-house; back again to the Martyrdom; the Dean's Chapel; St. Michael's Chapel in the south-west transept; and the crypt. On going out from the south door of the nave, the visitor will do well to pass through the precincts on the south side of the church round to the east end, noticing Meister Homers at the east, and the ruins of the infirmary and its chapel on the north-east, and thence through the 'dark entry,' and out by the Green Court, and on past the King's School buildings and fine Norman staircase, out through the old gateway into Palace Street. Particulars as to more special views, and the terms on which private tours may be taken, which vary somewhat from time to time, can be obtained from the head verger or his deputies, who, in our rather wide experience, are all unusually well-informed and courteous.

It may be helpful to give here, in the most concise way, the four chief periods to which the present structure of the cathedral belongs, irrespective of nineteenth-century restoration:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (1) Quire crypt, and external walls of quire. | Abp. Anselm, Prior Ernulf, | 1096-1107 |
| (2) Quire, Trinity Chapel and crypt. | William of Sens, | 1175-1178 |
| | English William, | 1179-1184 |
| (3) Nave. | Prior Chillenden, | 1378-1410 |
| (4) Angel Steeple. | Priors Molashe and Selling, | 1433-1490 |

IV. From Stour Street to St. Mildred's, the Castle, and Dane-John.

Starting from the High Street, opposite the church of All Saints, is Stour Street. A turn to the left out of Stour Street is named the Jewry, where was the Jews' quarter previous to their expulsion in 1290. A little

Canterbury

further, on the opposite side, is the Poor Priests' Hospital (pp. 240-1), now a furniture store. Still further, on the left, is Hospital Street, with Maynard's Hospital (p. 243), and at the end of the street is the church of St. Mildred (pp. 258-9). Hence Castle Street, with the massive Norman keep of the castle (pp. 261-3), is gained. On the opposite side of the road, a little to the left, is the chief approach to the Dane-John (pp. 263-4) grounds; here the great mound should be ascended for the prospect, and then the walk along the ramparts, looking down into the moat, descending into Watling Street, where stood the old Riding Gate (p. 268), and so on by St. George's Terrace, till St. George's Street and the centre of the city is once more gained.

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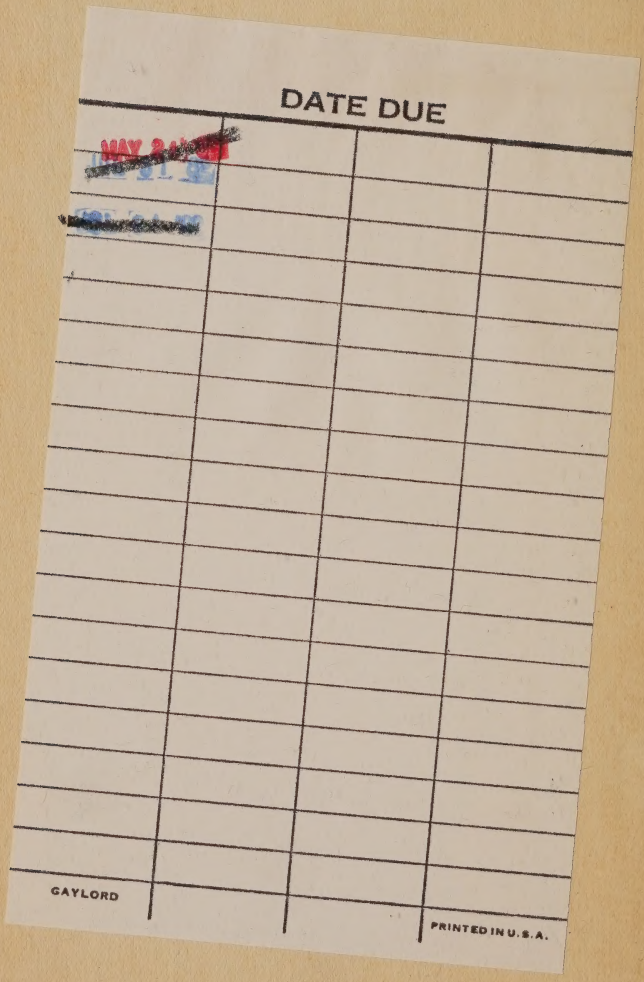
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